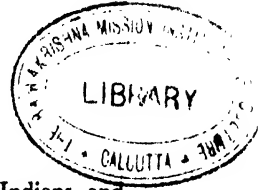


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A GENERAL SURVEY OF ART IN SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA DERIVED FROM INDIAN SOURCES

THE "RABINDRANATH TAGORE" LECTURE

By REGINALD LE MAY, Ph.D. (Cantab.)



A MEETING of the Royal India and Pakistan Society was held at the Royal Society, Burlington House, on Monday, June 13, 1949, at 5 p.m., at which Dr. Reginald le May delivered the "Rabindranath Tagore" lecture for 1949 on the subject of "India's contribution to the culture of South-Eastern Asia."

There was a large company present, which included H.E. the Siamese Ambassador.

The Baroness Ravensdale occupied the Chair and introduced the Lecturer in the following terms:

"I am honoured to take the Chair today for Dr. le May. We have with us the expert who has travelled through India, Malaya, French Indo-China, Burma, Siam and many other neighbouring countries, and his slides will show us the beautiful Buddhist works of art emanating from those countries, on which he is himself one of the greatest living authorities. We only become international citizens when we learn of other countries, their faiths, their cultures, their arts, their monuments. Let us wander today through these great Buddhist monuments and share with Dr. le May at second-hand some of the pleasures he has had first-hand in personally seeing them and photographing them for all time."

Dr. le May then began his lecture:

I consider it a great honour to be asked to give the "Tagore" Lecture to the Royal India and Pakistan Society, and I also feel honoured by the presence of Lady Ravensdale in the Chair. I need hardly remind you that it was her illustrious father who, when he was Viceroy of India at the close of the

last century, awakened both Indians and Europeans alike, after a long period of neglect, to a sense of the value of India's culture and of the need to study India's past.

I had the privilege of meeting the great Indian poet in Bangkok some twenty-two years ago, and I was able to interest him in the countryside of Siam by giving him a copy of my book, *An Asian Arcady*, then newly published. I feel sure he would be deeply interested in the subject-matter of the lecture today.

This subject-matter is so wide that in 1939 I gave a series of ten lectures to London University, covering the whole field of Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, Java and Sumatra. Now I have to compress it within the scope of one lecture and, if I exceed my time limit, I hope you will be able to bear with me. Without going into detail I am going to try and paint a broad picture, and show you how deep are the roots of Indian culture in all the countries I have mentioned.

On the map of Asia, which I am showing on the screen, there is a range of mountains running down the spine of Annam in French Indo-China, and this range marks the boundary or dividing line between Chinese and Indian culture. Everything north and east of this range is culturally based on China, while everything west and south is based on India: and the two neither overlap nor clash. At any rate, up to now they have not done so, and even the large bodies of Chinese residing today in Siam and Malaya have always lived in perfect amity with the local population in spite of the dissimilarity of their culture.

The beginnings of Indian colonization

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overseas eastward go back a very long way, and it is almost certain that the results seen today were not achieved by military expeditions, but by peaceful trading and religious teaching.

I shall deal with the planting of Indian culture in each country in turn, and I think you will be surprised at the quality and the range of religious objects which have been found there dating from those early times, and due to the fusion of the Indian and the local genius.

The seventh to the tenth century A.D. witnessed the gradual decay of the Brahmanic faith and the rise of Buddhism in most of the countries of Indonesia. Brahmanism still lingered on in Cambodia, at least in Court circles, but even there the last great Cambodian king was Buddhist at the end of the twelfth century. It is at this period that I close my survey.

In presenting to you this general survey of the subject, I must assume that you are all conversant to some degree with Indian art in general, and devote my attention to giving a brief outline of the conditions prevailing in each of those countries which go to form South-Eastern Asia, at the same time endeavouring to indicate those parts of India from which the local inspiration has been drawn in each case.

In spite of the efforts and discoveries made by scholars and archaeologists during recent years, my task has proved, and still remains, a very difficult one, and to show you how little was thought or known only twenty-five years ago of early colonization by Indian peoples in Indonesia, I have but to say that in the whole of the 649 pages of Volume I of the *Cambridge History of India*, which was published in 1922 and which takes us up to the middle of the first century A.D., no attempt has been made to treat of colonization at all. In a few of the relatively late instances, such as the Pāla (Bengal) influence on Burma in the eleventh century, the connection with India is clear, but, generally speaking, the early links are still weak, if not entirely missing.

There is one fact, however, which I

would like to impress upon you at the outset, namely, that, of whatever race the original colonists may have been and from whatever parts of India they may have come to the different lands of Indonesia, whether Burma, Siam, Malaya, Java, Cambodia or ancient Champa, the treatment and execution of the sculpture and architecture imported from India has rapidly taken on a definite local form in each of those countries, in many cases comparable with, and in some cases, as in Cambodia and Java, excelling, the standards set by the parent art itself. He must be a very insensitive being who can look at the grandeur of Angkor or Borobodur without a feeling of awe at their beauty, and of wonder at the marvellous inspiration and skill in execution vouchsafed to their builders.

The chief object of my present researches has been to find a *terminus a quo*, a starting point beyond which no light is at present visible. It is well known that the great Emperor Aśoka is reputed to have sent the Buddhist missionaries, Sona and Uttara, into the "Land of Gold," which is probably represented by modern Indonesia. Nothing has yet been found in Burma or Siam or Malaya which could be remotely connected with his period, i.e., with Mauryan art. It is, however, an interesting fact that Aśoka claimed to have brought the Cholas in the south and the Andhras of Telingana within the Buddhist fold. Now Paloura, at the southern end of the Chilka Lake in the Ganjam district, just south of Puri (not at the mouth of the Ganges where Ptolemy placed it), was the point well known to early mariners as that at which it was safe to turn eastward; and Amarāvati, at the mouth of the Kistna river, was an early port of embarkation for missionaries and traders. It is quite possible, therefore, that at the beginning of the Christian era, or even before it, Indian traders and other colonists were seeking their fortunes overseas eastwards, more especially perhaps in the second and third centuries A.D., when Amarāvati was an important centre for the dissemination of Buddhism.

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R. C. Majumdar has recently summed up the evidence of Schmidt and other noted scholars in favour of the Malay race having originally come from India, where the Mālaya-Māllava tribe was widely spread, and of their original emigration to Sumatra and the Archipelago having taken place in what he called "prehistoric" times. He says that, if this were accepted, the cumulative effect of these researches would be to push back the first phase of Indian colonization in the Far East to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India, and that it would not be rash to imagine that this colonization was, partly at least, the result of Dravidian and Aryan settlements in India dislodging the primitive inhabitants and forcing them to find a new home across the seas.

This assumption is based chiefly on the evidence of linguistic affinities existing between certain primitive tribes of India, such as the *Munda* and *Khāsī* with *Môn-Khmer* and allied languages, grouped together in the family called Austro-Asiatic, and their further connection with the Austro-Nesian family to which the Malays belong. Schmidt regards the peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia as belonging to the same stock as the *Munda* and allied tribes of Central India and the *Khāsī* of Assam in North-Eastern India.

Krom believed, however, basing himself on Hornell's theory, that it was Indonesians who colonized India in prehistoric times, and that the later Aryan colonization of the Far East was merely the reverse of that process. Moreover, Schmidt's linguistic theories have been seriously challenged, notably by W. F. de Hevesy, who denies the existence of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages altogether. It will thus be seen that this subject is still highly speculative and controversial, and beyond mentioning it, I do not propose to discuss it further: except to say that, if the Malays originally came from India, it is not surprising that they readily accepted the Indian religious influences when these flowed back in later times.

It is somewhat remarkable to find that the oldest sculptural remains hitherto unearthed in Sumatra are *Menhirs* very similar to those of the *Han* period in China, as are also the form of the *Cist* graves and the paintings on the inner walls. It is suggested by Loeb and Heinegelden that these were erected by settlers from Tonkin and North Annam between the years 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. It is credibly reported that the Chinese came at a very early date to the Malay Archipelago in their search for tin, and this may account for such Chinese settlements. It is also suggested that the island of Suvarnadvipa—i.e., Sumatra—was known to the Indians in the first century at the latest, although no traces of this period are yet known. If this is true, we have in Sumatra the earliest meeting of India and China in Indonesia—at its southernmost point.

From the evidence available it seems that colonists from India began to cross the seas and enter the lands of Indonesia from the beginning of the Christian era onwards, and it would appear that we have three different routes to consider for this emigration overseas. It looks as if the earliest settlers embarked at the port of Amarāvati and landed probably at the port of Martabān in Burma, though Coomaraswamy quotes Ptolemy as saying that the chief port of embarkation in India for "The Land of Gold" was Guduru (Koddura) at the mouth of the Godavari river. Some would settle in the region of Thatōn and the delta of the Salwin river and, later on, in that of the Irawadi round about Pegu. Others would push on southwards through the Three Pagodas pass and finally find a resting-place in the fertile rice plains of Siam. Like the Chinese coolies who, hundreds of years later, came to seek their fortunes in Siam, it is easy to imagine that those emigrants never regretted leaving the dusty soil of India for the green and smiling lands of Burma and Siam, where the finest rice in the world is grown, and one has only to lie on one's back and wait for the bananas to fall into one's mouth. Com-

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pared with the local inhabitants they were probably already of a much higher standard of civilization and would bring with them their own culture and religion as well as images, whether Brahman or Buddhist.

Later on, in Gupta times, when the capital of Northern India was at Pataliputra (Patna), it is likely that missionaries and traders travelling to Indonesia would use the port of Tamralipti (or Tamluk) on the Hugli river, even as the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien did when he re-embarked for China in the early years of the fifth century A.D. These emigrants would make equally for Martabān, unless they were bound for Akyab and Arakan on the west coast of Burma, since Thatôn was already established as the seat of Môn culture in Burma, and Martabān was a useful port either for that country or for Siam.

Thirdly, in Pallava times, we have the southern route from Kānchipuram either straight across to Mergui and Tenasserim, or slightly southwards to Takuapā and Puket Island (Junk Ceylon) in the Siamese portion of the Malay Peninsula, or again southwards through the Straits of Malacca to Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

There is, of course, a fourth route to consider, the entire sea-route round the island of Singapore and either up the Gulf of Siam to where Bangkok now stands or across the China Sea to ancient Funan and Champa. From the finds already made in the Malay Peninsula it seems probable, however, that this was not in general use and that there was a well-trodden route across the peninsula from Takuapā (the ancient Takola of Ptolemy) to Jaya and the bay of Bandon on the east coast.

Dr. Quaritch Wales has recently travelled along this route and mapped it accurately in his book *Towards Angkor*. On an island in the harbour of Takuapā Dr. Wales found the remains of an ancient sanctuary, accompanied by many sherds of early Chinese and Persian pottery; and twelve miles up the Takuapā river visited the well-known spot where still rest, embedded in the trunks of trees which have grown over

them, three Brahmanic statues of pure Indian handiwork but made of a local schist. These images are Pallava in style and may be attributed to the seventh or eighth century A.D., as near by were found schist slabs, one of which bore an inscription in eighth-century Tamil.

This brings us to a question to which as yet no definite answer can be given, namely, whether Brahmanism or Buddhism came first to Indonesia. It is an interesting (if not a very important) question, since it would indicate from which part of India the earliest colonists came. The probability is that both religions were imported more or less simultaneously and that, while Brahmanism remained the religion of certain well-defined bodies of colonists and was also a necessary adjunct to all the local courts, if only for horological purposes, it never appealed to the general mass of the peoples of Further India, who found the simpler teaching of Hinayana Buddhism more congenial.

As regards the Malay Peninsula, one of the earliest references to its colonization, presumably from India, is to be found in the Chinese annals of the *History of Liang* dating from the sixth century A.D., where it is stated that among the vassal states of Funan (an ancient empire whose capital was situated in modern Cochin-China) was one called Lang-ya-Hsiu, now identified as Tenasserim, which sent an embassy to China in A.D. 515 and reported that "our people say that the kingdom was founded more than 400 years ago"—that is to say, in the first century A.D. Also, according to the same Chinese history, Funan itself received its Indian influences in art and culture from the ancient state of P'an-P'an, which is generally agreed now to have been situated in the region of the Bay of Bandon (in Siam) on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. According to Coedès, there was also another ancient state colonized from India in the same region, named Tambralinga, as early as the second century A.D.

Turning to Central Siam, some light has

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been shed in recent years by excavations at a small village called Pong-Tük, about ten miles along the road to Kānburi from the station of Bān Pong, where the railway from Bangkok turns south for the peninsula and Penang. Here, in a banana garden, was unearthed the plinth of a temple sanctuary, about 80 ft. long and 47 ft. broad, with the steps leading up to it. The style of this plinth is similar to the early style of platform found at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, which owed its earliest Buddhist buildings to the great centre of Amarāvati in India. In conjunction with this were found, first a Græco-Roman bronze lamp of Pompeian style attributed by Coedès to the second century A.D., and, secondly, a small bronze Buddha image of the Amarāvati type, which he also ascribed to the second century A.D., though it must be said that Sir John Marshall considers it to be as late as the fifth century. Similar images, though of much more finished execution, have been found both in North-Eastern Siam and as far East as Dong Duang in Annam. Whatever the date of the statue, the find of the Roman lamp would seem to show that there was a settlement at Pong-Tük in the early centuries of the Christian era, as well as sufficient intercourse with the outside world for important foreign objects to find their way there. Moreover, the statue of the Buddha is undoubtedly of the Amarāvati type and does not appear to have been locally made, since it shows the so-called "Greek" drapery in the robe which it wears. We have here then, whether in the second or fifth centuries A.D., the earliest known tangible contact between India and the territory of Siam.

From Siam we go to Burma, and so little has been done in that country in the way of archæological research that Harvey in his *History of Burma* (published in 1925) could fill only the first three or four pages of his work with conjectural matter concerning the first five hundred years of the Christian era. Some important discoveries have been made since 1925 by M. Duroiselle,

the late Director of Archæology, but the early history is still very obscure. For instance, during the past twenty-five years there have been important finds in Siam of sculpture made by the Môn settlers there, based on Gupta models from Northern India, but, as far as I know, none have ever been found in Burma to compare with these, although the centre of Môn culture lay in the districts of Pegu and Thatôn in Southern Burma. Here I cannot help remarking that, although the French in Indo-China have always shown a deep interest in ancient connections between Siam and what is now French Indo-China, the British, in both Burma and Malaya, have never exhibited the slightest interest in the cultural relations of these countries with Siam. This is hardly creditable, either to our neighbourly or to our archæological sense.

According to Harvey, the decisive factor for Burma was the rise in the fifth century A.D. of a great Hinayana Buddhist centre at Conjeeveram (the ancient Kāñchipuram) near Madras, under the Commentator Dhammapala, since ancient Môn writings frequently mention Dhammapala and Conjeeveram, and the earliest Môn inscription is in the Pallava alphabet used there in his time.

Turning to Sumatra, Loeb and Heinegelden state that the oldest stone image of the Buddha, which was found near Palembang, cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the fifth century, which places it in the Gupta period, and anterior to the Çrivijaya period of Sumatra. Stone figures of Bodhisattvas—e.g., Lokeçvara—have also been found which are related to the Pallava period. There are also some sculptural and architectural remains connected with Çaivism, but no date is assigned to these. The oldest inscriptions known are not earlier than the second half of the seventh century and one of these, dated A.D. 686, is written in an archaic Malay interspersed with Sanskrit words in a script similar to Pallava characters.

For Malaya the position is much the same as when Coedès wrote in 1928 that the

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archæology of the Peninsula presents problems which the evidence at present available is not enough to resolve. Recent research in ancient Vieng Sra, near Jaya, and its neighbourhood has led to the discovery of Brahmanic and Buddhist sculptures representing a variety of types. Some of these are very near to pure Indian prototypes, others by their complicated headdresses recall the sculptures of Kānheri and Aurangabad in North-western Hyderabad of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. One such type of Brahmanic sculpture found in the Malay Peninsula is a standing image of Viṣṇu in limestone, 27 inches high. It is of rather clumsy execution and the head-dress, ears and decoration are remarkable for the peculiar heaviness of their style. It had originally four arms, of which the posterior left is broken off, the anterior left holds the conch-shell, the posterior right rests upon a heavy club, while the anterior right holds the discus. Similar statues to this can still be seen *in situ* at Nakon-Sritammarāt. It is difficult to say whether this statue was locally made or imported from India. I cannot point to any particular prototype in India and I incline to think that it was of local production.

Two early inscriptions have also been found, one in the temple of Mahā-tāt at the city first mentioned, written in archaic Sanskrit of possibly the fifth or sixth century, and the other in the temple of Maheyang in the same city, written in a form of Sanskrit used in Cambodia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

In *Towards Angkor* Dr. Wales illustrates figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva found at Vieng-Sra near Jaya of quite a different type from the one shown above. There is also another type of Viṣṇu now to be seen in the Bangkok museum, found near Takuapā. This is similar to images from Funan, the ancient Cambodia, and these all wear the cylindrical head-dress so characteristic of early Pallava sculpture, as well as a nether garment hardly distinguishable from the dhoti worn by the modern Hindu.

The earliest Buddhist images so far found

in the peninsula, whether in British or Siamese Malaya, are in the Gupta style and are probably not earlier than the sixth century. They are akin to those of the Môn kingdom found in Siam in that period, but those from the peninsula seem to me to be nearer to the Indian prototype than those from Siam proper. A small bronze statue found at Pong-Tük is locally made but certainly Gupta in style.

Later on, from the eighth century onwards, we find in the Peninsula another type of Indo-Malaysian sculpture which is connected with Çrivijaya, a kingdom which is believed to have arisen in the sixth or seventh century with its capital at Palembang in Sumatra and to have spread its wings over most of the Malay Peninsula. This sculpture is clearly of a Mahayana Buddhist type and, although the subject of its provenance (or that of its prototypes) is still controversial, I believe that its origin will eventually be found among the Pālas of Bihar and Bengal, at any rate after the close of the eighth century (Fig. 6). This kingdom of Çrivijaya later became known as Jāvaka, or Zabag, to the Arab traders.

When we return to Siam proper, as distinct from the Peninsula, we have to recall a fact which always astonishes me when I think of it. In a work on *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Nihar Ranjan Ray states that "in Siam, which is professedly Buddhist, finds of Brahmanical Deities in considerable numbers testify to the existence of a large Brahmanical population," and later, that "Brahmanism preceded Buddhism in that country." Ranjan Ray may be referring to the finds in the Peninsula which I have been discussing, in which case I do not feel by any means certain that Brahmanism preceded Buddhism in that part of the country; but there is another region of Siam where images of Brahmanical deities have been found, which may well lend truth to his statement. In the heart of Siam, remote from all the principal waterways, at an ancient site called Çri-tep (Çri-Deva) in the valley of the Pā-Sak river, north of the modern town of Petcha-

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būn, have been unearthed some of the most remarkable statues ever found in Further India, all of Brahmanic deities, together with a fragment of an inscription in Sanskrit, which Professor Finot assigns to the fifth or sixth century A.D.

During his tour Dr. Wales visited this ancient site and has given a clear picture of it in *Towards Angkor*. How this Indian colony or state came to be formed in such a remote region is a mystery. Dr. Wales accounts for it by imagining that people of ancient Funan expanded their dominions by "following the River Mekong for some distance, thence going westward along the valley of the Mūn river, then through a gap in the mountainous escarpment that borders the plateau of Eastern Siam, then across the valley of the unnavigable Pāsak river, and finally to the fertile plains of the Menam valley." But Çri-Deva is not in the fertile plains of the Menam valley, and the inevitable question presents itself: "Why stop and build your capital at an absolute dead-end, on an unnavigable river, far remote from the centre of your kingdom, from the sea, and from all the principal trading centres?" I cannot find an answer to this question.

The ancient city (not including a larger area added later) was surrounded by a moat and ramparts, with six gates or entrances, the four principal ones being at the cardinal points of the compass, and the area enclosed was about a square mile. There are the ruins of four temples still standing in the centre of the city together with a lake, tanks, and a terraced structure.

Of the four temples, only one was found in a reasonable state of preservation, and consisted of a brick tower about 40 ft. high, standing on a laterite pyramidal base which raised it a further 20 ft. from the ground. Dr. Wales believed that he was looking at the oldest known Hindu temple in Indo-China. From the photograph given it is difficult to judge clearly of its architectural conception, but the mention of a laterite base gives rise to some doubt in my mind as to whether one can ascribe it to so early

a period. Laterite is a kind of grey stone of ferruginous clay, very soft when it is cut or dug out, but when exposed to the air and sun, turning red and hardening to a rock-like substance, full of holes like Gruyère cheese. It was much in use in Khmer times for construction work of all descriptions, especially roads, and it is true that it was used in the early buildings discovered at Pong-Tūk, but the Funan and early Khmer people used brick for buildings, and whether the early Hindu settlers of Çri-Deva knew of the use of laterite seems to me doubtful. When, too, this doubt is reinforced by the mention of false porches and niches inside, resembling windows, the whole seems to me to smack strongly of Khmer architecture. There was a later Khmer settlement at Çri-Deva, as Khmer images have been found there, too, and Dr. Wales refers to this later occupation which he ascribes to the eleventh century after the city had lain desolate for a long period. But for the moment this is by the way, as the city has certainly yielded splendid stone statues of Viṣṇu and other Brahmanic gods which are probably not later in date than the fifth or sixth century A.D. To call this statuary provincial would be to underrate it completely. It shows a breadth of conception and execution which is only given to master-sculptors and is certainly as fine as anything found on Indian soil. The figure of a *Yaksi* in sandstone, 2 ft. 4 in. high, is enough in itself to support my contention and is one of the most beautiful objects in the National Museum at Bangkok. It is closely akin to the equally remarkable figure of a *Yaksa* in the Stoclet collection in Brussels. But there is also a torso which shows great vigour of execution and a complete mastery of form, as well as an almost life-size figure of Viṣṇu, which is of a somewhat different character from the other two.

Professor Coedès thinks that these statues recall closely the Indian canon of the Gupta period, but looking at the triple curve of the body, I have a feeling that the origin of these early stone images of Viṣṇu

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and other Brahmanic gods found at Çri-Deva must be sought in West Central and Southern India, among the Pallavas, Chalukyas and Pandiyas. They are to my eyes the forerunners of those swaying, lissom, sinuous figures of the Chola period in the south, and Gupta art is too austere to introduce such sensuous feeling into its creations. But, whoever these Indians were or whatever part of India they came from, they certainly had some remarkable sculptors among them.

Going back to Central Siam and passing over the finds of Amarāvati images at Pong-Tük, we begin to tread on firmer ground, since the last thirty years have revealed a considerable number of Buddhist sculptures in bluish limestone which may, I think, be ascribed without any doubt to Gupta prototypes (Fig. 1). These sculptures were the work of Môn artists and can be dated back to the sixth century, if not earlier, since stone Wheels of the Law and figures of the Deer (which were symbols of Buddha before his images were made) have been found in Central Siam, as well as images seated in the so-called European fashion. For the moment we can say, then, that even if early Brahmanic as compared with Buddhist remains are few and far between in Central Siam, the finds in Southern and North-eastern Siam certainly indicate their presence there at an early date.

Now we must turn to Burma. The earliest inhabitants of Burma of which any record exists were the Pyu, a Tibeto-Burman tribe (Fig. 3), and although the Pyu are now extinct as an entity, having been absorbed by the Burmese, a certain number of their inscriptions have been found from which it is clear that they were Buddhists by religion and had long had contact with India. This is also confirmed by the Chinese chronicles of the Tang dynasty. Their principal city, old Prome (Hmawza) on the Irawadi, was $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, twice as large as Mandalay, and the area enclosed was $5\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Harvey, the historian, says that Buddhism existed side by side with Brahmanism and that

what the excavator finds in Burma is often Hindu rather than Buddhist. As a comparative statement I hesitate to accept this dictum, but there is no doubt that, in view of the discovery in some numbers of Brahmanic images at Hmawza, Mergui and in Arakan, as well as coins and terra-cotta tablets, there must have been settlements of Indian colonists living among the Buddhist population, with special Brahman temples for their own worship, in exactly the same way as Hindus live and practise their religion today among the Burmese and the Siamese. The provenance of these Brahmanic images or of their prototypes is at present not at all clear, but the earliest writing found in old Prome can, according to Finot and Duroiselle, be traced to Southern Indian alphabets as its immediate source, as in the case of certain gold plates inscribed with Pali texts, which are in an archaic script like the Kadamba script of the fifth century A.D.

This rather points to Harvey's conclusion that the rise of Hinayana Buddhism in Burma was due to the great movement centred at Conjeeveram on the Madras coast in the fifth century.

North of Prome, in old Pagān, there seems to have grown up a very debased form of Tantric Mahayanism, practised by the Ari cult, but in the south of Burma we find the Môn, or Talaing as they are called today, with their centres at Thatôn and Pegu. When the Môn, who are linguistically allied to the Khmer, first settled in Lower Burma cannot be fixed for certain, nor when they received the teaching of the Hinayana school. That they must have arrived fairly early in the Christian era is clear, since they had reached Lamp'ūn in Northern Siam by the seventh or eighth century, and the conversion of that country to Hinayana Buddhism had begun.

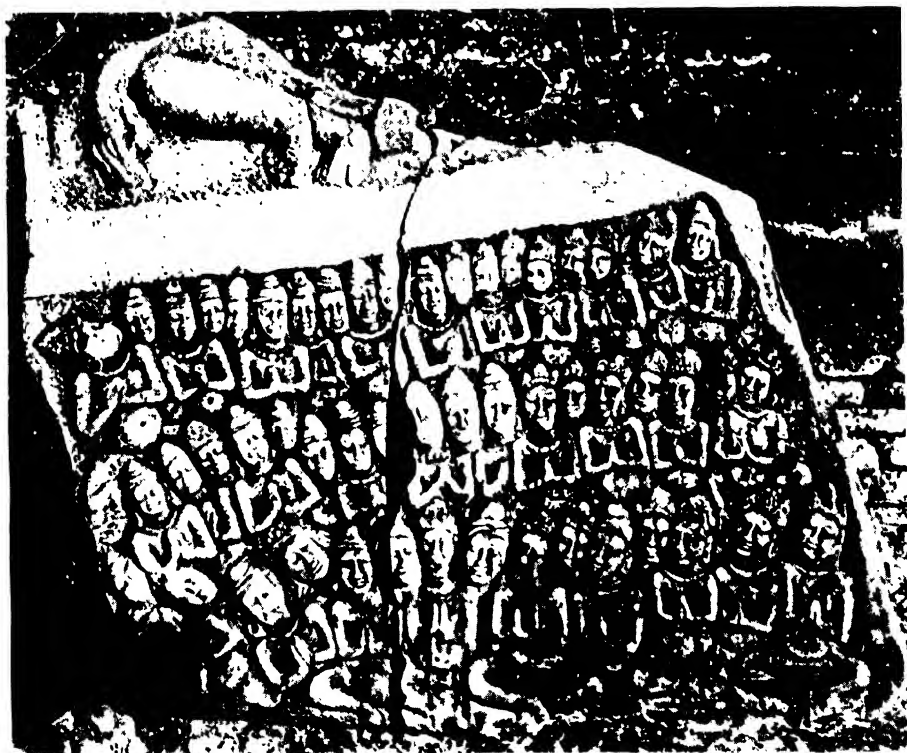
A few images of the Buddha showing traces of a Gupta style have been found at Hmawza (Fig. 4), and these have inscriptions, if any, in Pyu and Sanskrit; but I do not know of any similar images of the Buddha having been found either at Pegu or Thatôn



FIG. 1. HEAD OF BUDDHA IN BLUEISH TIME-
STONE. BASED ON GUPTA MODEL.
Môn period in Siam, Vth-VIth centuries A.D.
in the Author's collection.



FIG. 2. PAGODA AT P'RAP'ATOM, SIAM.
Restored by King Chulalongkorn. Style derived
from North India. 380 ft. high.



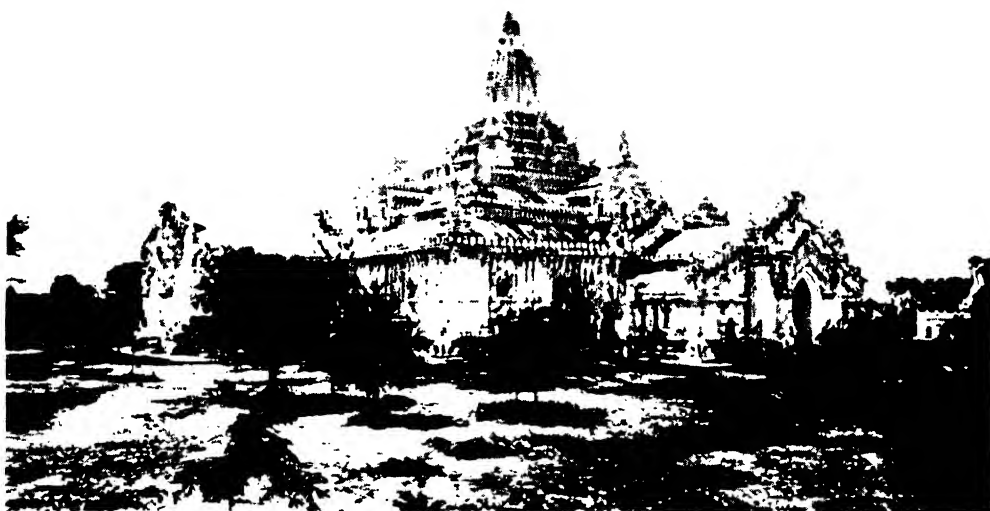


FIG. 5. THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.
Built by Kyanzittha, *circa* 1090 A.D.



FIG. 4. SILVER GASKET, 26 INS. HIGH, SHOW-
ING FIGURES OF THE BUDDHA AND ATTEN-
DANTS. MODELLED ON GUPTA STYLE.
Excavated at Old Prome (Hmawza). VII century



FIG. 6. TORSO OF BUDDHA IN BRONZE.
From the Jaya region in the Malay Peninsula.
Pāla style, *circa* Xth century A.D.

FIG. 8. SANCTUARY, WITH
CHAPEL ATTACHED, AT
LOPBURI, CENTRAL SIAM.
Khmer, XIth century A.D.
Based on Gupta prototype from
Kharod, Central Provinces,
India.

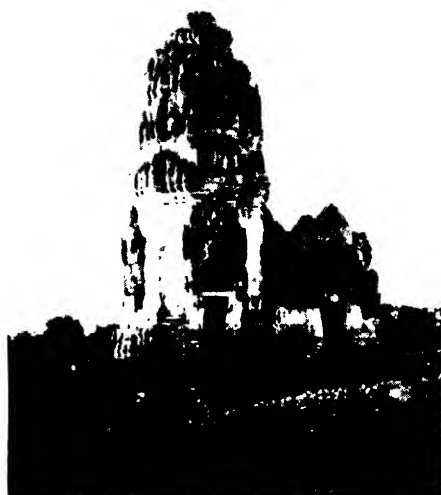


FIG. 7. ELEPHANT AND
RIDER CHARGING.

Carved in red brick on base of
Pagoda at Fū Panom, North-
east Siam. Possibly early
Khmer.

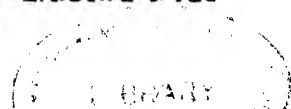


PLATE IV.

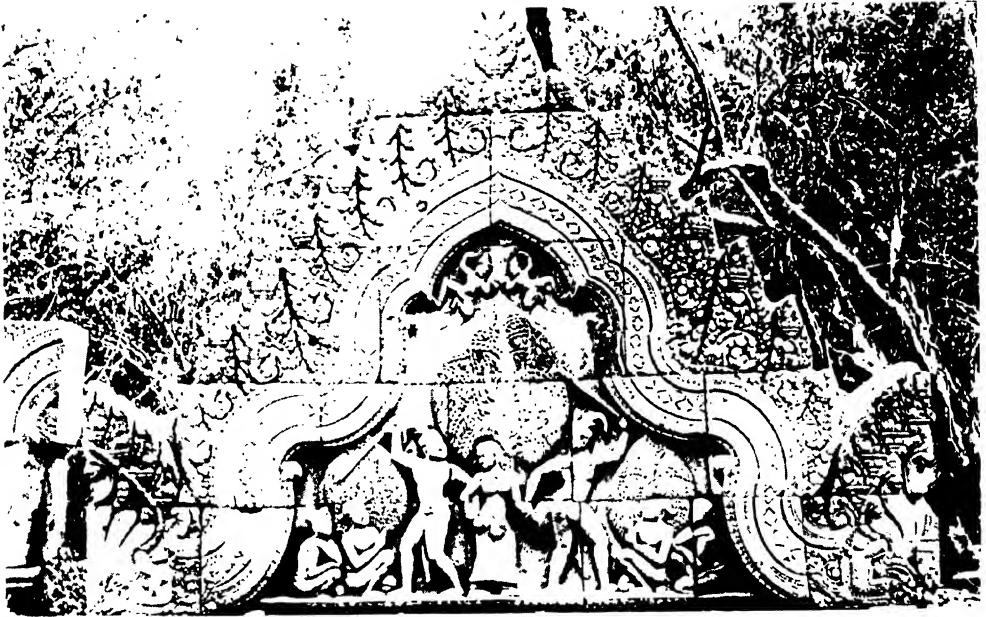


FIG. 9. PEDIMENT IN SANDSTONE FROM BANTEAI SREI (12 MILES FROM ANGKOR).
Khmer. Xth century A.D. Perhaps the most beautiful sculpture known.



FIG. 10. FRIEZE IN SANDSTONE FROM PRAMBANAN, CENTRAL JAVA.
Sailendra period. VIII-IXth centuries A.D.

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which could afford us any clue as to their date or provenance. Finot suggests that the soundest inference to draw at present is that both Sanskrit and Pali, with their respective forms of religion, were more or less concurrent in the Môn country from an early but still unspecified date.

Before we leave Burma I should add that from the eleventh century onward, when the first Burmese kings of Pagān had such intimate dealings with Bodhgaya, we are on firm ground and can trace the Buddhist art of Burma directly back to the school of Nalanda (Fig. 5).

There we must leave Burma, and in this brief survey travel across land and sea to ancient Funan and Khmer-land.

Practically all we know historically of Funan is due to the researches of Professor Pelliot, who unearthed and translated a large number of references to this State in the early Chinese annals. From these it appears that Funan occupied the modern province of Cochin-China and a part of Cambodia, and that its capital was situated a little south of modern Phnompenh. There is a tradition that an Indian named Kaundinya came from the west in the first century A.D. and, finding a woman who is known as "Queen Willow-Leaf" reigning there, married her and had himself recognized as king. He was shocked to find both her and her people naked and insisted on their wearing clothes. It is related further that between A.D. 240 and 245 a successor of Kaundinya named Fan-Chan sent an embassy to India, which travelled up the Ganges to the capital of the Murunda prince, and after four years' absence came back with a present of four Indo-Scythian horses. It is also stated that early in the third century Funan conquered nearly the whole of the Malay Peninsula, but failed to capture the "Golden Land in the West."

After this we hear of no further connection with India until the end of the fourth century, when another Indian Brahman, also named Kaundinya, in response to "A Voice from Heaven" travelled to

Funan from the State of P'an-P'an in the Peninsula and was received with open arms by the people, who immediately elected him their king. He completely changed the customs to those of India, and the Chinese annals, written not long after, say that "they worship the spirits of Heaven. They make images of bronze. The two-faced ones have four arms and the four-faced ones have eight arms. Each hand holds something, a child, a bird or a beast, or the sun or the moon. When the king sits he raises the right knee but lets the left knee fall." Here it is clear that Brahmanism and Indian royal customs had reached Funan by the end of the fourth century A.D.

At the end of the fifth century a member of the same family was still on the throne, under the name of Kaundinya Jayavarman (this is the first mention of Varman in Indo-China), and by this time Buddhism had apparently also arrived, but whether from India or China is not absolutely clear. In A.D. 484 the king sent an Indian priest named Nagasena to the Imperial Court of China to ask for help against the rebel kingdom of Champa, and Nagasena reported to the emperor that "the custom of his country was to render service to the god Maheçvara (Çiva), but that the Bodhisattva practised his mercy also. Indeed, the reforming influence of Buddhism extended over ten regions." From this it might appear that the Buddhism practised was a form of Mahayanism (as in China), but, whether this be so or not, here we have the first mention of a custom which has been in use in Indonesia from that day to this, where the Court was surrounded by Brahman priests while the people were embracing the more congenial religion of Buddhism.

From the finds made in Cochin-China and Cambodia, one of the principal Brahman deities was Hari-Hara (Viṣṇu and Çiva in one person), and one can see from the image illustrated to what heights of execution the local sculptors could rise. It would be hard to excel or even to equal this image in India itself. The second

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illustration shown is also a fine piece of carving, but it must be admitted that the French authorities ascribe these figures to the pre-Angkor period of Cambodia rather than to the earlier Funan period. Another image shown is that of Ardhhanari, who symbolizes Çiva and his wife Uma in one.

The Buddhist art of Funan (or at least of pre-Angkor Cambodia) is similar to the art of Dvāravatī, as the old kingdom of Central Siam occupied by the Môn people was called, and it is possible that this early style of Buddhist art was brought to Funan through the intermediary of Dvāravatī. From the history of Funan it does not seem likely that that country was often in direct contact with India, but rather that it received its Indian character through the Indian States of the Malay Peninsula and, as far as this type of art is concerned, from the Môn State of Dvāravatī.

By some French authorities this type has received the name of "Greco-Gupta," but personally I see in it a transmigration of the Gupta spirit into a Funan body, and consider the feeling to be entirely Eastern.

If it is maintained that the grace of such a figure must be due to Greek influence, I should admit it only if I were convinced that the Indian artists were incapable of such feeling, which I am not; indeed, it is this very grace which to me is Indian in feeling, and if any debt is due to Greece or the West it lies in the sculpturing of the feet.

The last king of Funan mentioned in the Chinese annals is Rudravarman, who was ruling in the first half of the sixth century and who is reported in A.D. 539 to have offered the Emperor of China a hair of the Buddha twelve feet long. In the second half of that century Funan was conquered by its northern vassal state of Chen-la, and the rise of the great Khmer empire had begun. At this time Chen-la was split up into two parts, Chen-la of the Water (*i.e.*, the great lake and the lower reaches of the Mekong) and Chen-la of the Earth (*i.e.*, the Lao States to the west of Annam). It was not until the eighth cen-

tury that the northern part obtained control over the whole of Cambodia.

After Chen-la had conquered Funan, a capital was established at Vyadhapura (Angkor-Borei) between Pnompenh and Chaudoc to the south of it, but apparently the capital of Southern Chen-la had previously been situated at Cambhupura (Sambhor) on the Mekong river due east of the great lake. Here are found the earliest types of Khmer temples all dedicated to the Brahman religion. Parmentier says that "out of sixty-five early temples of which remains still exist in Cambodia, forty-five consist of single, isolated sanctuaries, but at Sambhor there is a triple temple, each sanctuary separate from the others. Of this type, eight are known. These early temples are built of brick and more often rectangular rather than square. The cell within, intended to receive the image of the god, usually had only a single doorway and the roof vault consisted of a pyramidal tower, formed of bricks overlapping until they met; there was no true arch" (Fig. 8).

Maspero placed the capital of Chen-la of the Earth at a place now called Pakhin-bun on the Mekong, but Seidenfaden states that there are no Khmer ruins to be found there, and that the capital was probably at Tak'ek (opposite Nakon-Panom) slightly to the south, where there are still the remains of a considerable city to be seen. In modern colloquial Siamese "Tak'ek" would mean "The Indian landing-place," but the original meaning of *k'ek* is not "Indian" but "a guest" or "a stranger." In Siamese a drawing-room is "hong rap k'ek" or "room for receiving visitors." I hesitate to draw any conclusion from this name, but it is interesting all the same.

What are probably the earliest sculptural remains in Northern Chen-la were, I will not say discovered (for they were previously seen by Prince Damrong, Lunet de Lajonquière, and Aymonier), but closely examined and photographed by myself in 1929. There is a noted temple, to which pilgrimages are still made by the devout, at Tāt-Panom, halfway between the towns

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of Nakon-Panom and Mukdahān to the south, and the base of the *stupa* in the temple grounds is constructed of large rectangular red bricks, whose surface is covered with spirited carving. Here I saw, greatly to my astonishment, a large figure of the Buddha seated on a lotus-throne turning the Wheel of the Law or "preaching the first sermon," attended by a flying *Apsaras* on each side above and devotees on each side below. The style reminded me of the Amarāvati school, but whether this is so or not, the figures show a clear relationship to early Indian forms and cannot be later than the sixth or seventh century A.D. The other scenes represented were most lively figures of elephants with riders, men on galloping horses, and men walking in procession, all apparently in a proto-Khmer style (Fig. 7). I think that we can safely say that here are the earliest sculptures so far discovered in ancient Chen-la, and it is nothing short of remarkable to find a carved figure of the Buddha so far to the north at this early date, and carved on the brick base of what seems to have always been definitely a Buddhist *stupa*.

According to Parmentier the architecture of this first early period of Khmer art, from the fifth to the eighth century, is a reproduction in brick of the original timber structures introduced into Funan by Indian colonists. He draws this conclusion from the fact that none of the very early buildings have survived. All the indications at present show that the Brahmanic architecture of this early period was due to Pallava influences. Curved roofs were employed as shown in the bas-reliefs on *Ratha* at Mamallapuram. Decorative motives, such as the head of a monster flanked by *Makaras*, heads in arched niches without pillars, and panels with standing figures either with or without niches, are all common to early Cambodia and the Pallava State as well as to Java.

The sculpture of this early Khmer period still maintains the style of Funan and remains true to its Indian prototypes; but with the rise of the Khmer comes also the rise of the cult of the Buddha seated on the

Naga. Such a figure is referred to in the Chinese annals of the Liang dynasty as having been promised to the emperor by the King of Funan at the end of the fifth century, but so far no definite Funan images of this nature have been found. But the Khmer kings always trace their origin from the union of Kaundinya (which one is unspecified) with a daughter of the Naga king of the name of *Soma* (that is, "the moon"), and this legend brings us straight back to the Pallavas of Kānci-puram. A Pallava inscription of the ninth century says that Aṣvatthaman married a Naga princess and that their offspring was Skandaṣiṣya, who was the ancestor of the Pallava kings; and another inscription says that Virukarcha married a Naga princess and obtained from her the insignia of royalty. There seems little doubt, therefore, that the early Khmer kings had a strong connection with the Pallavas.

Stone inscriptions of the seventh century are relatively common. They are phrased in good Sanskrit and engraved in beautiful characters, finer than those in India itself; but those of the eighth century are few and far between, and history is more or less a blank until the coming of Jayavarman II in A.D. 802. This monarch, who reigned for nearly fifty years, established full control over the whole country, but the question of where he came from is still not definitely settled. An inscription says that he came from Java to reign in Indrapura, but afterwards founded Hariharalaya as his capital, now identified with Prah-khan in the vicinity of Angkor-Thom. He also founded two other cities, Amarendrapura (Banteai-chmar in the extreme west) and Mahendra Parvata (Beng-Meala, east of Angkor). At the same time he introduced the cult of the Deva-raja (*i.e.*, the Royal God), which had its special sanctuary and a priestly hierarchy to conduct its ritual. This ritual was drawn up so that Kambuja-Deṣa (Khmer-land) might no longer be dependent on Java, but have its own paramount monarch.

It is still debated whether this Java is

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the Java we know today, but the same cult did obtain both in Champa and in Central Java, and it is most likely that he was a conquering invader. A Cham inscription of A.D. 787 states that the armies of Java coming in ships destroyed the temples of Champa, and there are reports of earlier raids on Tonkin in A.D. 765. The Arab writers of the ninth century also record the invasion of Cambodia by the King of Çrivijaya (or Zabag as it was known to them). The latter half of the eighth century was the heyday of Indian influence in Central Java, when the Sailendras were in power and the great temples of Borobudur and the Dieng plateau were being built. From another inscription it is clear that Jayavarman II was not related to the previous royal family of Cambodia, as it says that "he had no connection with the soil but rose like a fresh lotus"; but whether he belonged to the Sailendra family or was an exiled Khmer prince returning to his native land, it is clear that he was inspired by the great period of temple-building in Java. And from his time dates what Parmentier calls the classic style of Khmer art, which produced some of the greatest works of man known to us today (Fig. 9).

Before I leave Indo-China I must devote a few words to the kingdom of Champa, or Linyi as it is called by the Chinese. Aymonier says that "Champa was well known as a name in Ancient India as the capital of the Anga kingdom now called Champa-Nagar, near Bhagalpur in Bengal. This place is not mentioned in the Times Atlas, and the only Champa in India proper is in the Central Provinces, due east of Bilaspur and north-east of Raipur. Champa, however, is a thoroughly Indian name, and it is clear from the buildings, statuary, and inscriptions found in that ancient State (now occupied by Southern Annam) that the early civilization flourishing there was due to strong influences from India. The architecture still standing consists chiefly of isolated sanctuary-towers akin to those found in Cambodia, but rather cruder in

execution, while the Brahmanic statuary is also akin to Khmer, but the treatment is usually, if anything, rather more forceful in character.

I must now turn to the Dutch East Indies. In Java and Bali the early period of Indian relationship, though clear in general outline, is unfortunately just as obscure in detail as it is with the other lands already discussed. Dr. Vogel says that "in the whole literature of ancient India, both Sanskrit and Pali, he has found only one mention of Java, which occurs in the fourth canto of the Ramayana. Yet that word "Ramayana" alone recalls the immense debt due to India by all the lands of Indonesia, when we remember that it forms the basis of the still popular shadow-plays in those countries as well as of the whole realm of ballet. Nor does the epigraphy of India throw any light upon the contacts made between India and the Malay Archipelago. Our earliest information comes from the rather wistful record of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa Hsien, whose homeward-bound vessel in A.D. 414 took refuge from a storm in a country which he calls Ye-po-ti. It is clear from the context that this must relate either to Sumatra or to Java, and the pilgrim laments that "in this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known."

Thus it appears that at this date, about A.D. 400, Indian civilization and Brahmanism had already firmly implanted itself in the Malay Archipelago. This fact is corroborated by inscriptions found very far apart, first of all, oddly enough, on the east coast of Borneo in the province of Kutei, by one which tells of a state ruled over by Indian or Indianized princes whose titles end in Varman, such as Asva-Varman, and records in pure Sanskrit Brahmanical sacrifices offered by priests; and, secondly, in Java, not far from Batavia, by four rock inscriptions relating to a king named Purnavarman, who ruled over the town of Tarūma. These inscriptions can be dated in the early or middle fifth century A.D., and are all in a

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South Indian character, almost identical with the Grantha alphabet used at the time of the Pallava dynasty, which ruled in Southern India from A.D. 300 to A.D. 800. The earliest *dated* Brahmanical inscriptions found in Java are much later, namely, (1) at Changgal in A.D. 732, which described the consecration of a Linga by King Sangaya of Central Java, whose ancestors came from Kunjara-Kunta in Southern India; and (2) at Dinaya in A.D. 760, which described the erection of an image of Agastya. In all these Brahmanical inscriptions the Çaka era is used, dating from A.D. 78, which is essentially a Southern Indian reckoning. The northern Vikrama era is unknown in Java.

Later on we have the testimony of I-Ching, another Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who, in the course of a voyage to India in A.D. 671, stayed at a place he called Fo-che (now identified as Palembang, the capital of Çrivijaya in Sumatra) for six months, to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar. He says he found Buddhism in a flourishing condition, and the mention of Sanskrit seems to indicate that the Buddhism he found there was of the Mahayana school, unless, indeed, the monks belonged to the Mulasarvastavadin sect to whom I have already referred elsewhere and who, although Hinayana Buddhists, had their canon in Sanskrit.

This mention of Mahayana Buddhism brings me back to the kingdom of Çrivijaya, a kingdom I may well call "discovered" by Coedès in his essay published in 1918. By the evidence there adduced Coedès endeavoured to trace the rôle played in Indonesia by this Indianized kingdom, whose influence in the seventh century A.D. extended from Palembang far up both sides of the Malay Peninsula and later also over a large part of Java. From whatever part of India the influence came originally, at the end of the eighth century Çrivijaya was devoted almost solely to the practice of the Mahayana form of Buddhism, and was ruled over by a dynasty known under the name of Sailendra, though whether this

dynasty had obtained its position by conquest over the former dynasty or not is still not clear.

The earliest inscription dates from A.D. 686 and was found in the island of Banka, just off the east coast of Sumatra, and the two earliest found in Java are dated A.D. 778 and A.D. 782, respectively. The first of the two latter found at Kalasan records the dedication of a temple there to the goddess Tara, while the second records the consecration at Kelurak of an image of the Bodhisattva, Manjusri.

Dr. Vogel says "epigraphical records scattered from the Coromandel coast to the heart of Java bear testimony to the zeal of the Sailendras in promoting the Good Law and raising magnificent monuments for the worship of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas."

Everyone knows how magnificent these monuments were, from the wonder-temple of Borobodur, the only *stupa* to be found in Java (though an entirely different type of *stupa* is found in Sumatra), to its satellites, Chandi-Mendut, Chandi-Pawon, and Chandi-Banon, as well as Chandi-Kalasan in the Prambanan area, to mention but a few of those still standing. All these may be ascribed to the second half of the eighth century, when the Sailendras were most powerful in Java.

From the same period date those five groups of temples on the Dieng plateau, 6,500 ft. above the sea, of which the best known is the temple of Prambanan, and all of which are dedicated to the Brahman religion and especially to the cult of Çiva (Fig. 10). Throughout the Indian period of Javanese history this cult prevailed in the island side by side with Mahayana Buddhism. Dr. Vogel considers that, although the Dravidian style of architecture in Southern India may show a certain affinity with the early temple style of Java, it should be remembered that the earliest surviving relics of Indo-Javanese architecture are at least three centuries later than the rock inscriptions of Western Java already mentioned, and that we should look upon the Dieng temples as

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the outcome of a long period of building activity of which no early specimens exist. All these temples, of which Chandi-Bima is a good example, may be said to be truly Javanese in form.

Finally, there was a complete fusion between the two religions, Brahmanism and Mahayana Buddhism. For instance, charters may be found which begin with praises to the Buddha and to Çiva at one and the same time. The whole pantheon of Çaivism became an emanation of Dhyani, or heavenly Buddhas, and monuments to Çiva were built in such a manner that they were later mistaken for Buddhist monuments.

In the island of Bali the indigenous race was addicted to ancestor-worship, and the cultivation of magical practices until the coming, at a still unspecified date, of settlers from India, who apparently, as in Java, also practised the Çiva form of Brahmanism. By reason of their superior civilization these settlers gradually acquired ruling rights over different parts of the island, but they were careful not to interfere too much with the communal life of the village, which still retained its ancient usages. Even today the three higher castes of the Hindus (for Bali has always remained Hindu) constitute only 7 per cent. out of a population of over a million. The remainder call themselves "Sudras" or servants. Very few artistic remains of the period anterior to the tenth century have been found in Bali, and those surviving are closely bound up with the Indianized art of Java.

We have now reached the end of the round of visits paid to all those countries of south-eastern Asia which derived their religion and culture from India during the first eight centuries of the Christian era, and it remains to sum up all the evidence that we have been able to adduce. The conclusions reached from the evidence may be reasonably set down as follows:

1. I see no reason to doubt the truth of the story that the first Buddhist missionaries were sent out of India by the Mauryan Emperor Açoka in the third century B.C. They founded the Buddhist religion in

Ceylon, and others were sent to the "Land of Gold," which is probably to be identified with Indonesia. No relics or traces of this period have been found there as yet.

2. A centre for the dissemination of Hinayana Buddhism arose at Amarāvati on the Kistna river in the second and third centuries A.D. The influence of this school was felt architecturally in Ceylon and in lower Central Siam, and possibly reached as far as Sumatra in the south. At the same time a wave of Brahmanism swept across the sea to the Malay Peninsula, became established in Sumatra, Java and Borneo, and reached as far as Funan and thence its vassal state (name unknown) in the heart of Siam. The origin of this wave is not yet definitely settled, but at present all the indications point to the kingdom of the Pallavas in South-eastern India, which rose to power at the end of the third century A.D.

3. In the fifth century A.D. an important school of Hinayana Buddhism became established at Kāñchipuram (Conjeeveram) on the Madras coast, the Pallava capital, and this period also witnessed the golden age of Gupta Buddhist art in the north. Burma was strongly affected by both these Buddhist centres, while the Gupta influence penetrated the Malay Peninsula, Siam, and through Siam, the ancient Funan. Throughout this period the Brahmanic wave continued and, while weakening or perhaps never very widespread in Burma or Siam, flourished in Sumatra, Java and Cambodia.

4. The seventh to the tenth century witnessed the gradual decay of the Brahmanic faith and the rise of Buddhism in most countries of Indonesia. In Burma the Pyu and the Môn were always Hinayana Buddhists, and in the eleventh century the first Burmese kings outshone both in their devotion to the faith. In Siam the Môn again were always Hinayana Buddhists, and, though the Khmer brought the Brahmanic faith with them when they invaded the country, the people at heart remained Buddhist, so much so that the Tai, who came after them, accepted that religion as their own. In the

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Malay Peninsula, too, Brahmanism decayed with the rise of the kingdom of Çrivijaya in Sumatra in the seventh century, and under the Sailendra kings the Mahayana Buddhist faith flourished exceedingly right up to the twelfth century. The eighth century in Java, when the Sailendras were at the summit of their power, witnessed an outpouring of splendid architecture in stone dedicated to that form of the Buddhist faith. The early art of Çrivijaya seems to have been derived from the Pallava kingdom, but the later Sailendra certainly owes much to the early period of the Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal, and Javanese art would appear to be a synthesis of Pallava, Pāla, and indigenous influences. In French Indo-China during the period of Funan and the early centuries of Khmer rule Brahmanism was the predominant faith, though Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-849) is thought to have been a Buddhist of the Mahayana school in his early years, as many of his foundations were dedicated to Lokeçvara. This would not be at all surprising if he came from Central Java, as supposed, but as he also introduced the cult of the *Deva-raja*, he probably subscribed to both religions. It is not until the middle of the tenth century that we find in Khmer-land an inscription wholly devoted to the Buddhist faith (of the Mahayana school). From that time the two religions seem to have existed peacefully side by side until the end of the Khmer Empire in the fifteenth century.

5. Finally, the last phase of Indian art to influence Indonesia is to be found in the later productions of the Pāla kingdom in

the eleventh century, when the early Burmese kings of Pagān opened up intimate relations with Bodhgaya and Nalandā, and introduced an entirely new form of Buddha image (*i.e.*, new to Burma) of the Hinayana school. This form eventually found its way into the north of Siam and became the base of the Siamese national school, though this was much influenced at a later date by new forms of the Buddha image from Ceylon.

At the conclusion of the lecture, which was received with acclamation, Lady Ravensdale expressed the thanks of herself and the audience in the following words:

"Dr. le May, how can I thank you for this lecture and those superb photographs and slides you have shown us? Your words on my father and his great love of the monuments of India touched me beyond belief. I, too, love those ancient buildings, many of which, like you, I have seen myself. In fact, I struggled for eight long years till I finally got to Angkor. Do you not feel, my friends, in a broken, shattered world, for a short while we have touched the serenity the Buddhist attains in his belief by looking on these incomparable statues of the Buddha? And your reward, Dr. le May, may be our thankfulness to you that you have led us along these peaceful paths—sharing the quiet, still beauty that pours from those unsurpassed works of Buddhist art."

Dr. le May acknowledged to the Baroness and the audience his thanks for their appreciation of his lecture and slides, and the meeting then adjourned.

IQBAL: HIS APPROACH TO THE SPIRIT OF ISLAMIC CULTURE¹

By Dr. H. H. BILGRAMI

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

A fortnight ago, when I was invited by the respective secretaries of The Royal India and Pakistan Society and Iqbal Society to give a talk on Iqbal, I accepted the honour with pleasure, but I must confess, not without some hesitation. For though I had been a humble student of Iqbal for the last fifteen years, I feel I am not fully equipped with the material that is essential to the interpretation of the Philosophy of Iqbal. I shall, therefore, venture to claim your attention and indulgence for a few moments with the hope that the shortcomings of this brief paper would induce some of you to contribute something more valuable to the study of the Great Poet of the East.

Ever since the destruction of "Baghdad—the centre of Muslim intellectual life in the middle of the thirteenth century" the progress in every sphere of Islamic culture came to a standstill, that essentially dynamic outlook on life, the Law of Islam "was practically reduced to a state of immobility." "For fear of further disintegration the conservative thinkers of Islam focused all their efforts on the one point of preserving uniform social life for the people. . . ."² The centuries that followed witnessed learned scholars "whose writings," in the words of Professor Nicholson, "show no visible diminution, but with one or two conspicuous exceptions we cannot point to any new departure, any fruitful idea, any trace of original and illuminating thought."³ It seemed for the time being that there was a very gloomy future for Islam. But thanks to the constant efforts of the various modern movements of Asia and Africa—*e.g.*, the Sennusi movement, the Pan-Islamic movement and the Babi movement, which, according to Iqbal, is only a Persian reflex

of Arabian Protestantism—the light was kept burning. We must not forget, however, the direct or indirect contribution of the West in giving a fresh lead to a tottering civilization. Various movements that started in Syria, Egypt and Turkey also touched the shore of India and Indian Muslims, who were, in the middle of the nineteenth century, labouring under very adverse circumstances; after the Mutiny Muslims had lost all confidence in themselves, were "looking to the British Government for the advancement of life, and for the safety of their lives and property."⁴ To them life seems to have lost all its meanings, its pleasures and happiness. "They had seen their prestige gone, their laws replaced, their language shelved. The final disaster of the Mutiny brought the Mussalmans to the lowest depth of broken pride" and, in the words of Dr. Lalief, quoted by Lt.-Col. Ferrar, "there was no place left in northern India to which the Muslims could turn for help or support. Bereft of power and wealth, they presented a pathetic spectacle. The gradual disintegration of their religious and social life in no small measure contributed to their political downfall."⁵

At this critical moment there came forward a man to sympathize and to guide the broken-up Muslim community of India. He was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and around him gathered all those important figures whose writings heralded a new era. Sir Syed was convinced of the superiority of the West over the East and he clearly saw "that the West had triumphed over the East, but that Oriental Scholar still kept dancing on a floor that was crumbling away. He stretched a hand of welcome to the West, he talked of Science, Nature, Rationalism and Civilization."⁶ No doubt he had to face bitter criticism from orthodox Muslims, but he stood up against all blows.

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Hali at his request wrote the *Mussaddas*, which is considered the *Elegy of the Muslim nation*—first poem that was written with the definite aim to make the nation conscious of its talents. The part played by those who followed Sir Syed—e.g., Shibli, Nazir Ahmad, Zakaulla and others—is no less important in pulling the nation out of the slough of decay and degeneracy. It was they who paved the way for a politician like Maulana Mohammad Ali and a poet like Iqbal.

This struggle against dogmatism which was launched so very bravely by Sir Syed had found another enthusiastic supporter in the personality Syed Amir Ali, who did not feel satisfied with the mere negation of what Islam was not, but looked and searched for all for which it stood. "Syed had maintained that Islam was not inimical to liberal progress. Amir Ali presented an Islam that is that progress."⁷

"How is it," asks Amir Ali, "that since the twelfth century philosophy has almost died out among the followers of Islam, and an anti-rationalistic patristicism has taken possession of the bulk of the people? How is it that predestinarianism, though only one phase of the Quranic teaching, has become the predominant creed of a large number of Muslims?" And he would himself reply in the words that "for five centuries Islam assisted in the free intellectual development of humanity, but a reactionary movement then set in and all at once the whole stream of human thought was altered. The cultivators of science and philosophy were pronounced to be beyond the pale of Islam."⁸ His book *The Spirit of Islam* thus revealed to a Muslim mind many of those hidden treasures of liberalism and progressivism which hitherto had not been unearthed.

It was now left for Iqbal to develop and preach that gospel of Inductive Logic, that power of reasoning, action and self-confidence that alone is capable of uprooting the "uncritical dogmatism" from the minds and establishing the "Sovereignty of Reason." Islam was defined by Syed Amir Ali

"as constant striving for righteousness," and Iqbal showed how this constant striving is to be practised and realized in such a way that the spirit of Islamic culture be synonymous to the very spirit of Islam. An insight into his poetry and lectures reveals that the culture which is properly a directive given to development is absolutely based on religion, which is the principle of life itself. To him culture is not the outcome of the spirit of opposition to all that is secular or religious, but it is the expression of the talents of a nation according to the fundamental principle of Islam into the machinery of training, art, academics and institutions. Iqbal's conception of Islam is not merely feeling, emotion or conviction, but the whole life in all its manifold phases. He refuses to accept it as something limited, "abstract, a systematization of vague beliefs and traditions"; to him it is something real, practical, to be worked up in this world, which is just a preparation for a better and fuller life. "With Islam," he says, "the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled. The life of the ideal consists, not in a total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life into painful opposition, but in the perpetual endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it, to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being."⁹ Thus, to my mind, when Iqbal talks of the Spirit of Islamic Culture he really means the Spirit of Islam itself—a point which is important for the proper understanding of Iqbal, for to an ordinary mind, Islam, like every religion, is considered synonymous with morality in the ordinary sense of the word. But if a just and fuller view is taken of Islam it is as comprehensive as Goethe's formula of culture, "Life in the whole, in the good and in the beautiful."

Islam is therefore dynamic in its ethics and in its philosophy. "Its vitality depends on the continual progress," and "The birth of Islam" has been termed by Iqbal as "the birth of Inductive Intellect."¹⁰ He tries to bring home to the mind its constant

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appeal to reason and experience—that are the main sources of all knowledge. He is never tired of quoting from the Holy Quran and the traditions, the importance, that is attached to knowledge—knowledge which, in the words of the Holy Prophet, “enables one to distinguish right and wrong, that lights the way to heaven, that is friend in desert, and society in solitude, that is a guide to happiness and sustainer of misery, the ornament amongst friends and armour against enemies.”

Closely connected with the acquiring of such knowledge is the problem of transforming the right knowledge into right action. And this philosophy of acquiring right knowledge and transforming it to the right action is the keystone of the poetry of Iqbal through which he approached the intelligentsia as well as the masses and through which he captured the imagination of the people successfully and quickly.

An interpretation of this spirit of Islamic culture in poetry was the life work of Iqbal, and a brief mention of it here will, I suppose, convey a better picture of his objects than any abstract study of his lectures. Poetry to him was not merely a “lyrical expression” of emotions, but a means to convey to the peoples his experiences, ideas, and values of the realities of life. It is with this hope that he quickened the pulses of the nation and “summoned the sleeping” nation “to awake.” To him philosophy and poetry are both based on inner experiences and institutions; while the former is truth, pure and simple, the latter partakes with it the “Soz,” the burning of the heart.

Truth if told without fire is philosophy.

It becomes poetry only when fire
seizes the teller's heart.

This Truth “Huq” or the Philosophy of Iqbal has found expression under two broad headings:

“Khudi” (selfhood, individuality or personality) and

“Be-Khudi” (not-self) (his idea of a social order) or, in other words, “the striving for righteousness” that is started

from within and worked out in a society. The Khudi finds a fuller satisfaction in Be-Khudi, in the service of the humanity, the society of which the individual is a part.

“Iqbal's Khudi” (selfhood, individuality, personality), which has been well pointed out by Professor Nicholson, “is real and not merely an illusion of the mind.”¹¹ . . . “Only that truly exists,” says Iqbal, “which can say ‘I am.’ It is the degree of the intuition of ‘I-am-ness’ that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being.”¹² He explains Khudi and the conflict it has to face with the universe in its development in the following lines:

What is Self? The inmost Secret of life;
What is Self? The awakening of Creation;
Eternity behind it, eternity before it,
No limit behind it, no limit before it.
Borne along on the tide of the Age
Enduring the buffetings of its waves,
From eternity involved in ceaseless struggle
It assumes shape in the form of Man.

In *Israr i Khudi* he shows that the life of all individuals depends on strengthening the self.

Inasmuch as the life of the universe
comes from the strength of the self,
Life is in proportion to this strength.
When a drop of water gets the self's
lessons by heart it makes its worthless
existence a pearl,
Wine is formless because its self is weak;
It receives a form by favour of the cup,
Because the Earth is firmly based on self-
existence,
The captive moon goes round it per-
petually.
The being of the sun is stronger than that
of the Earth,
Therefore is the Earth bewitched by the
sun's eye.
When Life gathers strength from the self,
The river of Life expands into an
ocean.¹³

The thing that strengthens the “Khudi” is *Goodness* and that which weakens it is *Evil*. If one creates in oneself the “attri-

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butes" of God, one's self is strengthened. The greater the distance from the God the less is his individuality, and he who comes nearest to God is the complete person. Therefore he says, "The secret of the development of self lies in the complete faith in the fact that there is no god but He."

Keeping in view that Supreme Being and on developing His attributes in one's self—surmounting the difficulties of the environments, the individual is asked to continue his march towards perfection. He has to be careful at every stage of his development that "he does not revert to the state of relaxation."¹⁴ For Iqbal would say, "Personality is a state of tension and can continue only if that state is maintained . . . that which tends to maintain that state of tension tends to make us immortal."¹⁵ Anything that stands in its way is to be well guarded.

Oh Divine bird ! better death than that
satiety
Which would curtail your power of flight.

Against the old notion of absolute pre-dominance and predestination he advocates the idea of the Ego "being partly free and partly determined," and man has to play his part in this "unfinished growing universe" by contributing towards its perfection, and in that lies the perfection of his own Ego. He feels that self should be developed to such an extent that the question of domination of one will over the other may cease once and for all.

Exalt thy self so high that before He
ordains what is to be,
God will ask thee, his slave, what is thy
will.

Thus the message of Iqbal, though universal in its nature by its own driving force, "lashed" Muslim youth to action. He points out, "It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by con-

centrating the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own ends and purposes. And in this process of progressive change God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative: "Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves." (13, 12.)¹⁶

In his goal towards freedom, instead of condemning desire he encourages it and attaches greater value to it.

Keep desire alive in thy heart
Lest thy little dust become a tomb.¹⁷

But he always condemns the slavish imitations, be they of the West or of the antique ideas of the East, for they only weaken the personality.

Sometimes Iqbal is accused of accepting certain principles of modernism from the West, but in the same breath condemning all that is Western. But the fact is, that "while he readily welcomes the spirit of research of the Westerners, their sciences, their strenuous striving to gain control of their environment, he certainly repudiates the merely superficial and sensational side of their activities, for they weaken our self-respect and give us a false sense of being modern and progressive."¹⁸

While this blind following weakens the Ego, love—in its widest sense—fortifies it.

The luminous point whose name is the
self
Is the life-spark beneath our dust.
By love it is made more lasting,
More living, more burning, more glowing,
From love proceeds the radiance of its
being
And the development of its unknown
possibilities.
Its nature gathers fire from Love.
Love instructs it to illumine the world.¹⁹

No less important in this movement towards the building up of the Ego are courage, tolerance, earning an honest living, and Faqr, "supreme indifference to the rewards the world has to offer." Iqbal has never for a moment thought that any growth of personality is ever possible with-

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out all possible tolerance, consideration and respect for the sentiments of the others which he himself has shown in the following lines:

I do not bid thee abandon thine idols.
Art thou an unbeliever? Then be worthy
of the bondage of unbelief!
O inheritor of ancient culture,
Turn not thy back on the path thy
fathers trod!
If a people's life is derived from unity,
Unbelief too is a source of unity.
Thou, that art not even a perfect infidel,
Art unfit to worship at the shrine of the
spirit.
We both are far astray from the road of
devotion:
Thou art from Azar, and I am from
Abraham.²⁰

We have seen the stress laid by Iqbal on Individuality; the question that is closely connected with the development of personality or individuality is: What position is assigned to individual in a Society? Is the development of individuality an end in itself or a means to an end? Does Iqbal subscribe to Kant, Nietzsche or Bergson, who attach the highest value to self or individuality; or, like Hegel, would he consider the state as a "Super Personal entity whose strength and integrity are far more important than the rights of the individual."²¹ Here Iqbal has taken the position of "Kher-ul-umori aysatoha" (the best course in all the matters is the middle course), to which he attaches great importance. Of the individual he is not unmindful of his obligations and responsibilities to society. He is fully aware that though individuals constitute society, yet in the conception of "Millat" or society there are thousands of other figures which have not yet come into existence and they are also an integral part of the life of society. Individuals, while attempting to perfect their Ego, have also to achieve a universal aim through intimate relations with the life of the community. It is this "intimacy" with society that gives him power and energy

to make himself immortal. Individuals have to go, making place for the new generations; their lives are limited while the life of the society is eternal. Often he points out that "it is the active and living membership of a vital community that confers on him (man or individual) a sense of power and makes him conscious of great collective purposes which deepen and widen the scope and significance of his individual self."²²

The individual derives his power from the link with his community—alone he is nothing;
The wave exists only in the ocean, without it, it is nothing.

This relation of the individual with the community is further explained in the following words:

For the individual his link with society is (supreme) blessing,
His virtues attain perfection only in community.
The individual achieves honours and respect *because of* community.
The community achieves order *because of* "its" individual.

Iqbal's attitude towards a society can best be summed up in the words of Professor Nicholson, who says: "The principles of Islam, regarded as the ideal society, are set forth in the author's second poem, "The Rumuzi Bekhudi" or "The Mysteries of Selflessness." He explains the title by pointing out that the individual who loses himself in the community reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror, so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam, which is infinite and everlasting."²³

Here the question may be asked; What are those principles in Islam which form the basis of a society in which, in spite of attaching every importance to the community, it is possible for the individual to develop his power and character?

Iqbal in the chapters of Rumuz describes that social order of Islam.

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Just as the first stage of the development of Khudi is obedience to law and self-control, so the very foundation of world unity is described by Iqbal in the principle of "Tauhid" (oneness of God). "Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind."²⁴

No God but He—This is our inner
Wealth,
This link with Him binds us in Unity.

And this unity of purpose and ideal
brings the individual into a community.

A community is formed of men of a
single purpose,
And the guiding light of Sinai illumines
its heart.

A nation should have a common outlook
on life,
And its heart a common goal to achieve.

Persons having the common ideals and
purposes, common fear and common ob-
jective, form a Millat.

Considering Millat as one unit, he shows
how dejection, despair and fear weaken
the "Khudi" of a nation and how it gets
strength through Faith or "Iman."

The Power of Faith strengthens our lives,
Fear nothing, but God is to be our con-
stant thought.

The second part of this social order is the
faith in the institution of "Risalet," the
acknowledgment of a prophet in whose
"personality" "the finite centre of life
sinks into his own infinite depths only
to spring up again, with fresh vigour, to
destroy the old and to disclose the new
directions of life."²⁵ He says that though
God has bestowed upon us this form or
body, it is the Risalet that has given us a
spirit, a force, a purpose; while God creates,
the prophet gives to the creation a law and
an order.

God moulded us in human form,
From the prophethood arose in us the
spark of life,

From the prophethood order came into
our life in this world,

From the prophethood came our religion
and our laws,

By the prophethood our thousands were
united as one—

So that no part of us can be severed from
the organic whole.

In the following chapter of Rumuz, Iqbal
points out that "the real significance of
Mohammad's prophethood lies in the nature
of the message which he offered to mankind—
a message of freedom, social equality, and
human brotherhood."²⁶ He realizes that
the great curse of the civilization lies in
social prejudices; the ghost of nationalism
has overpowered man to such an extent
that humanity is sacrificed like a sheep at
its altar.

Humanity is being sacrificed like a sheep
At the feet of this unholy idol (of nation-
alism).

Iqbal has therefore boldly preached inter-
nationalism instead of nationalism. He
rejected all the "territorial or social pre-
judices" and exhorted mankind to live
the life of proper understanding and love,
helping one another for the greater cause of
peace, of the realization in oneself as well
as in society of the ideal of truth and right-
eousness. No society, he says, can ever
bring the light of love and peace to the
world where loyalty is demanded not for
the right but for the race.

A word here may be said about Iqbal's
idea of nationalism and internationalism.
It may be said that Iqbal is international
without being national. But a deeper
study of his poetry will show that in con-
demning nationalism he has really con-
demned all that ruthlessness, extreme self-
ishness, exploitation of the weak by the strong,
and all those evils that follow from the fact
of attaching too high a value to the idea of
nationalism, with the result that the deeds
do not follow for the love or fear of God,
but for the so-called love of the country.
He therefore condemns nations for in-
dulging in idolatry, though their idols are

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of a different kind, for they have created a new lord for themselves.

Again you have fashioned a new kind of idolatry,
You have created for yourself a new Cherisher and Sustainer.

It is this aspect of nationalism where, instead of seeking co-operation of other nations and extending a helping hand against any aggressor, it tries only to make itself strong even at the cost of other nations, that Iqbal condemns.

But a nationalism which rejects the claim of racial and geographical factors, which attaches the highest value to peace and striving for peace, which treats it only as a means of promoting goodwill and brotherly affection for humanity and is an attempt to spread the ideology, is an asset rather than a hindrance to the progress of society. It is towards this progressive and more comprehensive view of nationalism that Iqbal would like the nation to proceed. We see today that attempts are being made by various nations to form some sort of commonwealth for higher ends. No doubt today they are the results of common fear, a friendship in adversity, but the days are perhaps not far distant when a better understanding of these nations inside a commonwealth will bring them nearer to their goal of contributing to the prosperity of humanity at large. Iqbal perhaps would have considered this as the first step towards his conception of internationalism, which in my mind is nothing but the oneness of humanity, which he has really tried to emphasize. This basic principle is essentially Islamic in its nature.

“This your community is one community only and I am your Lord, therefore serve me. And they cut off their affairs between

them; to Us shall all come back. (21: 92, 93.)¹⁷

Towards this goal we have to move, whether as an individual or tribes or nations. As long as we are on these tracks, there is no harm in our being in tribes or nations. It only helps us to understand each other.

“O you men! We have created you of a male and a female and made you tribes and families, that you may know each other.” (49: 13.)¹⁸

Various details have been taken from Quran and tradition in order to formulate this ideal.

Now the question may be raised: “Why is it Iqbal has ‘narrowed down his mission from the world of the mankind to the world of Islam.’” To which he would himself reply: “The object of my Persian poems is not to plead for Islam. Really I am keenly interested in the search for a better social order; but in this search it is impossible to ignore an actually existing social system, the main object of which is to abolish all distinction of race, cast and colour.”

There cannot be a moment of a greater pleasure to me or to any student of Iqbal than to see this vision of Iqbal being realized in the land of Iqbal himself. This spirit of Islamic culture which asks every individual to exert himself to his utmost, to create in himself the Godly attributes of love and tolerance and which demands from these individuals to fuse themselves into a society or state, so that the individuals and the state should equally prosper—this spirit of Islamic culture is being given a practical shape by those in whose hand the sacred trust of building up a state on these principles has been given by the Almighty.

May God help them and give them God speed.

H. H. BILGRAMI.

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THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA

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habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitorum, porticus et balinea et convivorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset. (Tacitus: *Agricola*, xxi, 3.)

In attempting to assess the British contribution to India, to form an historically balanced judgment, one is faced at the outset by many great dangers, beyond the inherent difficulty of estimating academically the value of the interplay of the thoughts of two ways of life. The dangers spring, of course, from the very violence of the national spirit in the present world: we are too close to do more than strive for a fair understanding of the problem; repeatedly we must stop to ask ourselves if our judgments are not based on prejudices, on a self-satisfied, and possibly unjustified, conceit in the history of our own people and nation. If we can hold this in check we have to go further, to attempt to distinguish between the specifically British contribution and that of the West as a whole. Can we be sure that India's development in the past two hundred years would have been very different if the raj had fallen into other European hands than those of the British? In so many ways the British connection has

been but the vehicle through which India has entered into contact with the vital movements and life of the West: as Swami Vivekananda once put it: "Today the ancient Greek is meeting the ancient Hindu on the soil of India." Yet as we pass through a period after a war in which European nations have fought on ideological lines it must be clear that the English vehicle of this culture could only so present it as to be radically different from a German, an Italian or even a French presentation of Europe's heritage. It is not simply that Britain in the nineteenth century was a railway country and had opened up India with iron rails while neglecting the road system in a way which neither Germany, Italy nor even France would have done.

The tremendous nature of the contact between Britain and India, of the potentialities for good and evil, was soon realized. One has only to read Burke's speeches at Warren Hastings' impeachment or on Fox's East India Bill to see how the problem was already worrying the developing social conscience of eighteenth-century England. At a time when Warren Hastings had already stigmatized the Great Moghul as "a King of shreds and patches," Burke pauses "to reflect on the inconstancy of human great-

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ness, and the stupendous revolutions that have happened in our age of wonders. Could it be believed," he asks the House of Commons in 1783, "when I entered into existence . . . that on this day, in this House, we should be employed in discussing the conduct of those British subjects who had disposed of the power and person of the Grand Moghul?"¹ A revolution had, indeed, occurred in the relation of the two countries since the Elizabethan travellers had gazed in wonder at the splendour of Akbar's court at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. In Burke's day the chaos that had succeeded in India upon Aurangzeb's death had not yet been fully understood or appreciated. Even today the Indian patriot may try to cover up the anarchy in which a "Mahratta ditch" covered Calcutta and Nadir Shah carried off the peacock throne from Delhi by referring to the peace of Ahalya Bhai's or Jai Singh's rule. Culture there may have been at the latter's court, but it must be acknowledged that these were but good deeds in a naughty world.

One must realize also that the first coming of the British did not immediately improve the situation: our assumption of the Diwani in 1765 was followed by the famine of 1770. It is in fact Warren Hastings who is the first to evince any sense of responsibility for the people of India; with his Governor-Generalship begins the transition of the Company from trader to ruler. On the other hand, no historian but a determinist could maintain with Palme Dutt that "the internal wars which racked India in the eighteenth century after the decline of the Moghul Empire represented a period of inner confusion (comparable in some respects to the Wars of the Roses in England or the thirty years' war in Germany) necessary for the break-up of the old order and preparing the way, in the normal course of evolution, for the rise of the bourgeois power on the basis of the advancing merchant, shipping and manufacturing interests in Indian society."² Leaving aside the alleged question of a distortion of a natural development by the entry of a foreign bourgeoisie it seems highly questionable that

there were in eighteenth-century India mercantile interests capable of advancing.

In fact the keynote of India then in all aspects of life seems chaos in a disintegrating world from which the creative impulse has disappeared. The Vijaynagar Empire whose glories the Portuguese have described disappeared with the battle of Talikota in 1565; in the South it was succeeded only by the patently decadent art-forms of the Nayak dynasty of Madura. In the North the tomb of Safdar Jang at Delhi, dated about 1750, has been referred to as the "last flicker of Moghul art." There followed only the curious decadence of pure imitation of the West in the Kingdom of Oudh. It is not true that the British caused the break-up of India's art traditions; they were clearly in decadence before our emergence to rule. Art so frequently is a mirror of the life-springs of a nation that we may well question the Indian thesis that the British caused a collapse of all that was good and vital in pre-British India.

It was recognized very early that British rule had the potential fault, ever inherent in Empires, of so dominating the subject people as to deprive them of will, initiative, responsibility and character, to "emasculate" them, as Mr. Gandhi has put it. Sir Thomas Munro clearly saw this in his famous minute "On the state of the country and the condition of the people" of December 31, 1824. He remarks: "It is an old observation, that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as individuals." He stresses the danger of departing from the use of the democratic legal forms of the country in the disuse of the panchayat. Yet in recent years the Mysore government has found it necessary to wage a campaign for the vitality of the panchayats, while in such a book as K. T. Paul's *British Connection with India* we may see clear evidence of the failings of the local government machinery which we have set up: he gives instances of the silences of the elected representatives on district councils before the all-powerful collector, and argues that there is no training for responsible self-government as was the

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proclaimed intention in setting up these bodies. Wherever there has been a divorce between representation and responsibility, illustration has been given to Munro's fears and to Gandhi's accusation.

We have, though, now answered Tilak's³ call that a time-limit should be set to the period of political tutelage in which we held India. Macaulay's "proudest day" came on August 15, 1947, and we may assess what the now independent India has gained as a result of the British connection.

Apologists of British rule sum up the benefits of the connection as being on the spiritual side, the benefits arising from law and order, from the Pax Britannica, from a unified system of law and government, from the possibilities of growth under these conditions of political development and of the idea of nationality; on the material side these same writers point to the developments in particular of irrigation, communications, public health and the general scientific developments consequent on bringing India into relation with the modern Western world. The material and the spiritual cannot be entirely separated: the one is the environment for the development of the other. We may first see the interplay of the two factors in the growth of the idea of nationality.

Political philosophers may argue concerning the essence of the idea of nationality: fundamentally it appears to consist in a sense of difference from other people and of unity among one's immediate fellows. As Pandit Nehru hints in the title of one of his books, it is necessary to establish the claim of the "Unity of India." We may point to the wide differences in languages, in customs and races in the peoples of India, in a sub-continent as large as Europe less European Russia; yet we must agree that India has never lost to the same degree as Europe the sense of the oneness of its culture: politically it is enshrined in the stories of the horse-sacrifice, of the potential chakravartin or Imperial ruler, and in the fact of the attempts at universal domination, in particular of Asoka and the Moghuls, of whom the greatest was Akbar. He, in fact, attempted the

synthesis in the political sphere of the one element that did not look to Mother India, the Muslims. Their invasions broke the idea of unity, which, because it is in India an essentially religious concept, was shattered more deeply than was the corresponding idea by the Reformation in Europe. There, to complete the cleavage, the development of nation states was necessary. Islam stood firm against all attempts to assimilate it into Hinduism. Kabir, Nanak and the religious movements toward unity of the sixteenth century were attempting to deal with the fundamental problem. Akbar's efforts were the culmination of this process. With Aurangzeb's building of the mosque dominating the sky-line of Benares, we seem to see the irreconcilable nature of the conflict. Britain's rôle has been to provide the physical means of unity with communications and a governmental system in a country where the idea of unity had in essence been shattered, however much India's apologists may seek to preserve and to recall it. For only brief periods have any Indian rulers been able to emulate Asoka in the third century B.C. and rule both North and South of the great divide of the Vindhyas and the Narbudda. How nearly the British have succeeded in rebuilding by their presence a unity—even if, as Nehru puts it, it was but "a unity of common subjection"—may be seen from the discussions of the Cripps and Cabinet missions. In each case, unless one accepts the Indian thesis that Britain called into being the Muslim demand for separation from selfish Imperialists motives, it seemed as if the unity of India might yet be preserved in government. How near and yet how far for purely Indian reasons success was may be judged from the fact that Mr. Rajagopalachariar could bring Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah together for conversations, even though unproductive in their outcome. As Professor Coupland has shown in his study of Indian history in the first two parts of his Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, the growth of the Muslim League has been startling enough in the past fifteen years, but still more startling when one realizes that

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the real embryonic growth took place in the Muslim minority areas under Congress rule between 1937 and 1939. Mr. Jinnah's political success may be said to date from the "deliverance day" he called the Muslims to celebrate on the resignation of the Congress governments in December, 1939. In February, 1940, Mr. Jinnah told the Press that the constitutional settlement must be governed by the fact that India was not one nation but two, and in March the Session of the Muslim League at Lahore, attended by an estimated 100,000 members, passed a resolution which Coupland calls "Partition pure and simple."⁴

To such arguments that the British have contributed to the unity of India, drawn from recent history, the Indian nationalist will reply that these facts are but the product of the long policy of divide and rule. If, then, we take the Mutiny as the key date to the British period, we see there the same factors making for disunity. It has been claimed that this was a national rising, but in effect the Rani of Jhansi, the Moghul Emperor and the Nana Sahib, the descendant of the Peshwas, represented divergent elements and different reasons for discontent with the British.

The Mutiny, though, must be studied for the serious effect it had on Indo-British relations. Sir Lepel Griffin ventured to affirm: "Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the Mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India. . . . The Mutiny," he adds, "swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered army . . . ; it replaced an unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened; and it attached the Sikh people to their rulers. Lastly it taught India and the world that the English possessed a courage and national spirit . . . which marched confident to victory, although the conditions of success appeared all but hopeless." Vincent Smith in quoting this feels constrained to comment that this is "rather a harsh description of the Company's administration after 1833."⁵ If the Government became liberal and enlightened it tended to develop the Dalhousie tradition of enlightened despotism until the culmination of that policy

in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. Surely the summing-up which Lord Elton gives⁶ of the effects of the Mutiny are more correct: "It could never have been said before the Mutiny, as it would be said with some plausibility after it, that for the British there were only three genuine points of contact with the life of India—official administration, big business and big game shooting." The flag perpetually flying above the ruins of the Residency at Lucknow symbolized the rift between the two peoples, Indian and British. For the great names of administrators sympathetic to Indian aspiration expressed along Indian lines we have to go back beyond the Mutiny to Munro, Elphinstone, Metcalfe and the Lawrences. After 1858 the dominant atmosphere of the British raj would come to be expressed in the Partition of Bengal, made without reference to Indians' feelings or aspirations, or in the terrible speech Curzon made to the Convocation of Calcutta University in 1905 in which he explained that "he thought it undoubtedly was the case that truth had taken a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wiles had always been held in high repute."⁷ This lack of tact and understanding exploded in just the province which was to become one of the centres of the terrorist movement.⁸

In Bengal and the Maharashtra came the strongest terrorist reaction to British "despotism," however enlightened that may have striven to be. All Indian nationalism does not take this form. Since 1885 the Indian National Congress was quietly working, started, as it was, largely on the impetus of a retired British civil servant. There the old ideal, never completely lost, of educating India for self-government, took practical form. The nationalist movement shows in the clearest form how India responded to the challenge of British rule. The British contribution has essentially been to challenge a response in all fields of life—one may thus, in the phrase of Professor Toynbee, express what has frequently been called the "regenerating" rôle of Britain in India.

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We entered into her history in a period of anarchy, chaos and decline. Our presence and the new ideas we brought fertilized all aspects of Indian life and reimpacted a dynamic movement. The reaction that was needed was not the early uncritical acceptance of everything that the West had to offer and a denigration of all India's own cultural spirit in the way, for example, that Raja Ram Mohun Roy wrote on the subject of education to Lord Amherst, saying that what was required was a knowledge of the sciences "which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world,"⁹ and not a study of Sanskrit which would provide only "what was known 2,000 years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men." Similarly on the Muslim side Syed Ahmed Khan once remarked in a letter from London: "All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England." Later there was to be the swing of Indian nationalist thought to the other uncritical extreme. What was required was the feeling that, as Seeley put it, "the light we bring . . . is not a glorious light shining in darkness, but a somewhat cold daylight introduced into the midst of a warm and gorgeous twilight."¹⁰ Only with an approach of sympathy to the best of both traditions, and only with the attempt to enter into both could England's and the West's full contribution be made. Fortunately there have been Englishmen and Indians who have made this effort. For them as individuals it has the danger of producing divergent tendencies in the individual which may vitiate action. How near Pandit Nehru comes to this is seen in his autobiography; that he realizes it himself is recorded in the last chapter of that book: "I have become a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in

innumerable ways; and behind me lie, somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmans. I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me, and, though they help me in both the East and the West, they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities but in life itself. I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes, I have an exile's feeling."¹¹

While not wishing to emphasize the material changes that have come to India as a result of British rule, changes which would have come from association with any Western nation, it is right to stress the importance of printing and the press. Here the first important rôle was played by the Serampore missionaries: from their press there came forth not only new translations of the Scriptures but the first literary efforts in modern Indian languages, and in 1818 the first Indian newspaper. As one writer has put it, printing breaks down the Brahmin monopoly of knowledge; with the new diffusion of knowledge the traditional pandits' getting of the Vedas by rote was doomed. The Press permitted the growth of opinions and criticism. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, as we have seen, welcomed the new learning; under its influence came his *Precepts of Jesus*, the forming of the Brahmo Samaj, and the development of modern Hinduism under Christian influences and under reactions to those influences in such movements as the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. Hinduism was being revitalized to meet the challenge of the West. Hindus in their judgment of their own religion have often applied consciously the standard of asking whether a doctrine is "Christian." Something of the same spirit is seen in Mr. Gandhi's stress on the Sermon on the Mount while remaining himself a Vaishnava Hindu.

The Press too, it was soon seen, would challenge all authoritarian tendencies in the British themselves. Munro in 1822 produced a Minute on the danger of the Press to army

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discipline. It has been pre-eminently in the Press that the irreconcilable conflict inherent in British rule between efficiency and democracy has been fought out. Because of the stimulus to Indian thought and action of British ideas of freedom the series of Press Acts has been regarded as necessary. By means of the Press English literature has been spread, doing far more than contacts with Englishmen to spread English ideas. How could it be otherwise when, as in 1931, there were only 163,000 Europeans, including the 20,000 of the Army scattered through India?

The missionaries were the first to see the need of reshaping Indian languages to express Western ideas. By their translations of the Bible, in some cases by the writing of a language for the first time, they stimulated vernacular literatures. In the eighteenth century the main subjects of literature were the actions of gods and heroes in the stylized forms of poetry; by the present the main languages of India have been remodelled to express the colloquialisms of prose in the fast-moving newspapers, while all the forms of literature have developed. In Bengali there has been a flowering of prose and poetry, in particular with the Tagores; the days of slavish imitation of Scott and Shelley are long since past. In the Osmania University of Hyderabad Urdu has been transformed; there, it is said, some 40,000 words have been coined to express new ideas. In the South a new pride has come into a speaking of good Tamil: public figures have been forced to express themselves in their mother tongue rather than in English. For some the struggle has been hard, but now as a result of the nationalist reaction the Tamil language has been purified and has become an effective vehicle for clear modern thought. So it has been with each of the major languages; they have been, as one writer puts it, brought from the stage of miracle plays into the modern world. If there has been a loss it is that some of the modern poets may have lost in depth but they have correspondingly gained in breadth.

Alongside such a judgment one needs to pause to examine the effect English and

Western scholarship has had upon the arts. In many of them the British contribution has been to lead to a more sympathetic understanding of Indian art and cultural forms. One has only to list the names of the great British Orientalists from Sir William Jones onwards to see how their studies have enabled Indians themselves to develop a greater self-respect in their past. In architecture Percy Brown's recent two volumes continue Ferguson's tradition of sympathetic study while bringing much new light to bear. Beverley Nichols, in jeering at the strange medley of styles in Bombay, is in fact making a point only against the architectural malaise of the modern world which happens to go deeper in India, where there are more conflicting strains at work. In architecture then, the British have by study revealed the framework of the Indian styles; they have not been able to produce an original or satisfactory synthesis. In a degree the same is true of painting: criticism has opened up the treasures of Ajanta and Bagh, and has compelled attention to the Rajput and Moghul miniatures. From these schools and the welter of traditions of the West the Bengali school has not yet evolved a happy solution. Perhaps it is in literature that the British influence has been most profitable. Not only, as we have seen, is the general level of literature raised in the various vernacular tongues, but, because some of the best writers have also expressed themselves in English, we are enabled to form a judgment, to admire the success of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poetry, the fluidity and mastery of Nehru's prose-style, or delight in the thoughts of Tagore's *vers libre* Gitanjali. It is with Tagore that one may see the true greatness of the British contribution to India. He acknowledges it himself in his book, *Nationalism*, in 1917: "I must not hesitate to acknowledge where Europe is great, for great she is without a doubt. We cannot help loving her with all our heart and paying the best tribute of our admiration."¹²

In a study of India's past Curzon's "benevolence" caused the government machine to take action. With his appoint-

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ment of Sir John Marshall as Director-General of Archæology the Archæological Department was first able to start the great work of preserving and restoring India's monuments. Previously Cunningham had been able only to list much archæological material in the series of his reports; Marshall started the excavations which have made Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and Taxila as well known in Western educated circles as they are considered useful by Indians in showing the antiquity of India's contribution to the development of the human race. The interest in India's remote past has provided another weapon in the armoury of nationalist argument. So, too, Curzon's interest in the Moghul monuments, the Taj Mahal in particular, has called forth an intelligent interest in the preservation of historical monuments among Indians.

It is, of course, in education that the Press has played its most important rôle. We have seen how Raja Ram Mohun Roy insisted on the necessity for Western science. With Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 the dispute between Orientalists and Anglicists was ended. The older tradition going back to Warren Hastings and his madrasa, to his bringing out Sir William Jones, was supplanted by the views of a man who doubted whether "the Sanskrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors," and believed that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."¹³ Thus, even before the Mutiny sympathy with India was dying. The effective policy was laid down in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of July 19, 1852, which imposed on the Government the task of "creating a properly articulated scheme of education, from the primary school to the university." "Every honest educational agency, whether religious or nor, should be encouraged to the utmost."¹⁴ The needs, in fact, were immense. The older filtration theory of educating the upper classes and trusting that they would pass their learning on was unsatisfactory in its results because against the Indian tradition of the sacro-

sanctity of learning. Wood proposed a regular system of scholarships, grants-in-aid to the voluntary bodies, universities to be established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and, perhaps most revolutionary of all, insisted on female education.

The danger of the Indian education system has been that it has produced a University population far out of proportion to that part of the population which receives any education. Thus, for example, in Bengal the University student figures show a percentage of the population similar to that in England, whereas the figures for primary education represent but a small proportion of the population. Until illiteracy can be conquered the standard of life of the population will not be raised. At the present the old controversy of Anglicists and Orientalists has taken a new twist with Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of a simple homespun type of education for the masses.

With the coming of independence there arises yet more acutely the desire for a national language and a questioning of the rôle English should play in education, or, on the other hand, whether any other medium can play the same rôle of a unifying force and as an intermediary between East and West. English, of course, has its dangers: it is remote from the thought-processes of Eastern languages and students must expend much time in mastering its ways before they can develop their own creative thought; against this stultification must be placed the awakening they can so frequently receive only from a study of English. The other great danger Indian University education has constantly to fight is the popular demand of parents and others for a lowering of the standards, a battle against those who regard the Universities as mere degree awarding institutions. The idea of education providing a stimulus to creative thinking has not yet fully permeated Indian ways of thought.

If the Wood despatch first recognized the necessity for women's education it was there touching the centre of Eastern life. Behind the zenana walls passes the first five years of a child's life, which many besides Ignatius

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Loyala and the Jesuits have recognized as the most important years in the formation of a man's life and character. As a succession of thinkers on the Indian problem down to the present have seen, the women must be captured for education before any real and lasting progress can be made. At the moment it is interesting to read Mr. Brayne's recent pamphlet,¹⁵ to see him again stressing this question; how without the women the battle for rural construction cannot be won or his education of Indian soldiers during the war be successful. Yet women in India have made the most astounding progress; again here it is a question of spreading their advance through all sections of society. As a result of contact with the West, women have revalued themselves. Perhaps here it has been the influence of individuals rather than of literature and the Press that has made the change: on the Indian side Pandita Ramabai visited England and formed a friendship with Miss Beale, a leader of English women's education in the nineteenth century; on the Western side perhaps the influence has come chiefly from the example of "indomitable white women"¹⁶ as nurses and missionaries. While the Muslim conquerors brought the purdah which the richer Hindus copied, the British brought ideas of emancipation from this and all restrictions for women—again the example of the ruler has been followed, first by the upper classes and then by all sections of society. In some respects Indian women have been in advance of their sisters from the West: in 1878 in Madras and in 1883 in Bombay they led the way as medical students. In 1917 a few women asked Montagu for the vote; in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the principle was conceded and Madras and Bombay presidencies opened the vote to women in 1921.

It is in respect to the position of women that the West has most held up its hands in horror. In 1829 came Bentinck's famous Regulation XVII ending suttee. Less spectacular but no less deadly was the custom of female infanticide. Here the first, if ineffective, regulation came in 1795 (Bengal Regulation XXI). The disappearance of the

custom came more by a spread of Western ideas and, in the Indian states, by "the energetic and constant endeavours of military political officers."¹⁶ In 1870 an Act was passed for the application of "stringent rules for compulsory registration of births and regular verification of the existence of female children for some years after birth in places where such measures appeared desirable."¹⁷ Having preserved the existence of these unwanted females the problem became one of ensuring their acceptance in society. This problem is summarized in the inter-connected ones of child marriage and widow remarriage. A series of Acts down to and including the Sarda Act of 1929 have proved largely ineffective. The reform must come through a change of ideas in Hindu society itself; when it is no longer felt, for example, that the widow is being punished for her sins in a previous existence. Here again we see the importance of education: in many ways material reform can only come about by a transformation of ideas. 32,291

It is because England is so industrial that only the fringe of the main economic problem of India, that of agriculture, has been touched. Only a few of our officials have been able so to enter village life as to see and deal with the real problems. As Sir Campbell Rhodes summed it up for *The Times* in 1937, "agriculture has been neglected, not only by the government, but by town-bred politicians and 'trade Unionists alike.'" The Tata plan for the reconstruction of India showed the same failing: while advocating radical alterations in industry it only touched the edge of the agricultural problem with its suggestion of one demonstration farm to each ten villages. The British have provided capital expenditure for irrigation; their greatest and most justifiable claim to have helped India has been in building the prosperity of the Punjab. With the present land-pressure further capital expenditure is necessary: the present government's plans include multilateral purpose dams which will add to the acreage under cultivation. It may be asked, though, if the root cause of the trouble of Indian under-production is not the

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amorcement of holdings and the uneconomic methods which are in consequence employed in cultivation. In the Permanent Settlement, so frequently and not entirely unjustifiably condemned, the root-idea was through large estates to improve the revenue by improving cultivation. The ryotwari system, as Munro saw, was the more natural to India—but it was more liable to the breaking-up of holdings. Indians are proud of their group and community loyalties which, they say, were a feature of ancient India. It may be asked whether for agriculture some form of collectivization may not be the answer and may not fit in with Indian traditions. Such a solution, though, could only be imposed by an Indian government. The trouble with Imperial rule is always that it is out of touch with the main-springs of the life of the people. Thus, Britain's rôle in agriculture has been most successful in the creation of irrigation works and in the ending of famine; in these two matters Indian nationalists have given unstinted praise and recognition. Since the U.P. famine of 1907-8 the only serious famine has been that of Bengal, the product of the conditions of the recent war in which the possibility of pouring in Burmese and South-East Asian rice was temporarily removed. From the provisional Famine Code of 1883 there has been constant measured and planned progress which has in normal times eliminated the dread danger of the failure of the monsoon.

In one matter, half-material, half-spiritual, the British have made a contribution in which they led the West and which they alone could have given in its full vigour—namely, in the field of sport. Indian cricket teams are honoured guests in England and Australia. Internationally Indian hockey is supreme. India plays the whole range of Western games, including football, despite the leather of the ball. Perhaps the person who has seen clearest the regenerating effect of sport in all ways was Canon Tyndale-Biscoe in Kashmir. His experiences have been reduplicated through India. With the standard of whether a thought is "Chris-

tian," there is also the question asked increasingly whether an action is "sportsman-like."

It is here that the British have made a vital and a lasting contribution: they have introduced certain standards into the life of India. Perhaps the one which has gone deepest and the one which cuts most across Indian hierarchic caste ways of thought is that of the rule of law and of equality before that law. There have been many landlords who have protested to British officials at being summoned by their low caste tenants before courts where they were treated in a position of equality. The law there administered had been purified and codified from the elements of Hindu and Muslim law which the British found with, superimposed, English common law principles, many of which were first codified when the Indian Penal Code was drawn up in 1860.

In the space of this article it is only possible to indicate some of those facets of life which have been most affected by contact with the British or to dwell on those aspects which chiefly interest the writer. On August 15, 1947, Macaulay's "proudest day" for the British Empire came with the setting up of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. Our endeavour to restore the broken unity of India had necessarily failed, but it had failed in such a way that many on both sides of the new boundaries must be questioning whether the two Dominions may not eventually come together in a single state and the political unity of India at least be restored. By the declaration of April, 1949, the plenitude of India's and Pakistan's freedom in the British Commonwealth of Nations has been clearly manifested. They may find—time alone can give the answer—that this freedom in common action may be the last and greatest contribution to India. They go forward now with British Parliamentary systems and democratic ideals. Their nationalists have sought to find democratic traces in India's past, in panchayats and in mediæval city-republics; yet the Parliamentary tradition of freedom the new Dominions inherit comes down from the

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English Middle Ages through Locke and James Stuart Mill, writers who have both had a great influence on Indian national thought.

In the last 200 years India has been transformed in all branches of life. No relationship between two peoples is wholly unmixed for good or for evil. It is now for Indians themselves to cut away the bad from the memory of the past and to develop whatever good there has been in the British connection. The British presence has been one of the most powerful challenges that one nation has afforded to another; the full response has even yet not been worked out, the transformation of Indian life is not yet complete. The most intimate connection is at an end,

but there remain links. The British contribution to India must go on just as India's contribution to the West must continue in its equally incalculable effects.

Perhaps in conclusion we may take the words of an Indian to sum up the fullness of the British contribution to India: "British rule has transformed Indian life and thought more in one century than Hindu and Moslem in several centuries. It has given a new direction to Indian history. It has filled our minds with hopes and aspirations undreamt of before. It has brought us in closer relation with world movements. It has made us feel that we have a part in moulding the future of humanity."¹⁸

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⁴ Coupland: *Constitutional Problem in India*, pt. ii, pp. 206-7.

⁵ V. A. Smith: *History of India*, p. 725.

⁶ Elton: *Imperial Commonwealth*, pp. 346-7.

⁷ Ronaldshay: *Life of Curzon*, ii, 363-4.

⁸ One could cite other more considered expressions of Curzon's beliefs. On another occasion in India he said: "We have come here with a civilization, an education and a morality which we are vain enough to think the best that have ever been seen and we have been placed by the Power that ordains all in the seats of the mighty. Government was and should

remain a benevolent despotism; if it sacrificed its despotism it would sacrifice its benevolence" (O'Malley: *Modern India and the West*, p. 598).

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PUNNUN AND SASSI

A LEGEND OF SIND UNDER THE KILAFATE

By H. T. NORRIS

NOTE.—"Punnun and Sassi" is a folk story found all over North-West India, but although all versions are substantially the same, interpretation and emphasis differ. The version here was told me by two Sindhi peasants who dwell on the shores of the Arabian Sea, not far from Bhambor. They are the sole custodians of a ruined

"Tell" or mound, the site of ancient Bhambor, a rich field for an enterprising archaeologist. Sind for me must always remain the most fascinating part of India, now the nucleus and core of Pakistan. It is here that Arabia, Persia and India meet: there are faint echoes of the Arab occupation. It is Persia, however, which

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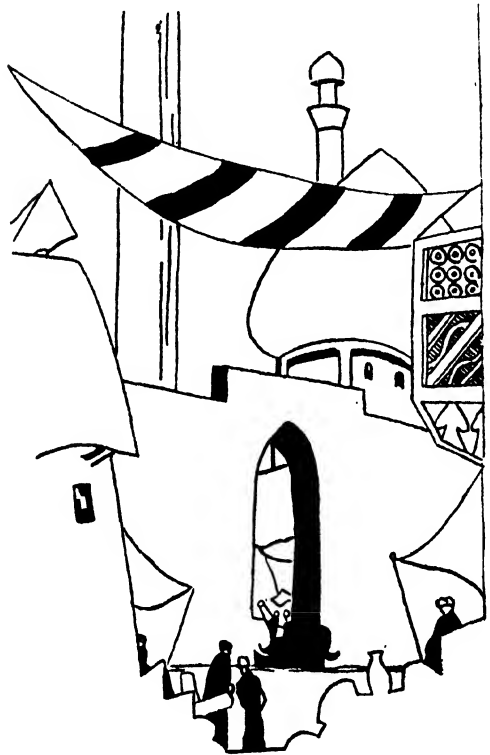
has added the dominating element, the pink and blue tiles of the mosques and much of the manner of life of the people. Indian Sind throbs beneath; on the surface Sind belongs to the desert lands of the west. It was this desert element of Sind which influenced me the most and made me think of putting "Punnun and Sassi" to verse. The wilderness is beyond description. It is at once peaceful yet terrifying, soft yet cruel, repelling yet irresistible. It is infinitely barren and sterile, pervaded by a hot atmosphere and layers of dust. It is tawny and white, sharp and rounded, forming designs and patterns and curves like waves of the sea. One strip of green flows down the middle—the Indus. To journey in such a place is a challenge to the imagination. There is no restriction of form or shape and nothing to hinder the eye from creating the fantastic and unreal. But the stillness contains something deeper, the eternal itself.

H. T. NORRIS,
London, 1948.

PROLOGUE

AGES ago, when streets of far Baghdad
Rang with the clash of steel and
horscs' hooves,
The waters of the mighty Indus stream
Nourished a fertile valley in the East,
Where fields of grain and herds of buffalo
Revealed a life, contented, enviable;
Where the grim shape of war no shadow cast.
One city stood which towered to the skies,
With streets, well planned and pleasant to
behold,
Composed of bricks baked solid by the sun.
The houses were alike, a sturdy mass
Of masonry in colour red and brown,
Which gave the walls, the palaces, the tanks,
A certain charm in dull monotony.
Above the covered streets and flattened
roofs,
The tapered, gleaming forms of minarets
Cast purple shadows in the setting sun,
While tiled and gilded domes of ancient
mosques,
Like bubbles, rose in districts of the town;

And at the shrill demand of Muezzin,
The face of every true-believer turned
Toward the West . . .
To where Arabia spread her shifting sands.
Some traveller in a distant caravan
Would see the city many leagues away,
A group of flashing crescents, temples,
towers,



Machicolated gates of castle walls,
The wind-vents and the beacons on the
forts . . .
Who would not gasp with reverent awe and
dread?
Such was the coloured setting for a tale,
Of old-world lovers and their tragic fate.

Dawn . . .
A streak of red across a darkened sky.
JAM ADAM, King of BHAMBOR, gripped his
throne.

The air was tense, and as the dying flames
Cast eerie shadows on the barren walls,

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The King would murmur in his greying beard
And shift his feet. Meanwhile he thought upon
Sassi, the new arrival at the Court,
No daughter had been born so fair as she,
A baby spotless as the yellow sands
Of MAKRAN . . .



Then at the sound of dawn, a solemn line
Of palace guards and robed astrologers
Moved like some aged troupe of frightened
ghosts,
Toward the throne. . . .

Thus spake the King . . .

"The hour has come your searchings to
proclaim,
Drawn from the hidden mysteries of the stars.
Will Fate bring good to SASSI, wealth or fame,
Or curse the very name of BHAMBOR?"

The chief astrologer stepped forth a pace,
And cast a woeful countenance on the King.
His flashing eyes, with overhanging brow,
His thin and hawk-like nose, his cruel
mouth,
Sent waves of dread into the silent court.

"My Lord, great King of Kings, I bring
the news
About your daughter SASSI and her fate.
Our message you may welcome or refuse,
It is the message of the eternal skies.

"It is foretold that SASSI when full-grown
Will love a man whose tribe is not of Sind,
Thus casting fearful shame upon the throne,
And causing fierce intrigue and civil strife.

"But if, great Sire, your patience will
permit
My well-thought plan to come before your
view,
I have a scheme which I have found will fit,
An answer which will free the throne of
care.

"Let there be built a box of sandal-wood,
An ark with creepers made of richest gold,
And let us add to make appearance good,
Clusters of rubies, jewels and precious
stones.

"Then Princess SASSI shall be laid inside
With money for the man whoever finds
Her little body if she has not died,
Gold for her rearing, education, marriage.

"Around her wrist an amulet shall be
wound,
Inscribed upon it shall her tale appear,
So that the finder, if the box be found,
May know she is the daughter of a king.

"And BHAMBOR and the people will be told
That the sweet princess SASSI died at birth,
And garments fit for mourning shall be sold,
To make the more suspicious lords believe."

The aged King was sad but gave the plan
His royal assent . . .
He mounted servants, bands of heralds,
guards,
Proclaimed the death of SASSI from the
walls,
So that the citizens, forlorn and sad,
Stared from the lattices and filled the
streets,

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And trade and weaving ceased throughout
the town.

But in the alcoves of the closed bazaars,
Craftsmen with skilful hands fashioned the
ark

With golden creepers as the King had said.
That night, when all the world was fast
asleep,

The little wooden box where Sassi lay
Was taken through the dark, deserted
streets,

Down to the Indus . . .

And there the box and Sassi, swept away,
Borne by the raging current and the wind,
Departed from her mother and her home,
A victim to the craft of cunning men.

But unaware of evils known to man,
The Princess Sassi in her coffin lay,
Asleep.

* * * *

One afternoon, old ATTA and his friends,
The washermen of villages around,
Finding it hot, with little work to do,
Retired to a sheltered spot to rest,
To talk of battles, and of days gone by,
When washing was a trade they all despised,

But ATTA sat and dreamt upon the bank,
Long after all his friends had risen and
gone.

He watched the Indus river passing by,
The long reflection of the distant palms,
The tiny flashing particles of sand,
And further still, a mirage in the sky.
He smiled and sang some little Sindi songs.

Then, as he glanced around, his eye
perceived
What seemed a box, come drifting near the
bank.

So using all his strength, with several pulls,
He brought the richly inlaid ark to shore.
He saw with greed the rubies and the gems,
The golden creeper and the sandal-wood—
And then he heard the crying of a child.

Childless himself, he opened wide the box,
And took the little Sassi in his arms,

Kissed her and hugged her as his very own,
And took her home with radiance in his
eyes.

So Sassi grew in beauty and in grace,
Until her name was famous in the land. *
Spotless she kept old ATTA's humble home,
And helped the washermen to dry the
clothes.

Yet always she remembered her estate,
The amulet she carried round her wrist.

When winter cooled the burning desert air,
Sassi would wander slowly to the sea,
And in the sheltered, sandy-walled lagoons
Would bathe, or in the water's mirror clear,
Watch her reflection, radiant and pure.

By chance one afternoon, when all was
peace,
Sassi, while she was musing and free from
care,

Saw a reflection other than her own,
The face of some strange man with raven
hair,

Clad in the head-dress of Baluchi Kings.
But Sassi, frightened, stared with open eyes,
And murmured for no reason that she knew,
Punnun . . .

No sooner had this name the silence stirred,
The picture vanished. Sassi, bursting into
tears,

Prayed that the Prince's face return again.
The sight had filled her youthful heart with
love.

Day after day fair Sassi would return,
But never saw the unknown face again,
Until one morn while sitting by her house,
Weaving a carpet coloured red and gold,
Her eyes descried a far-off caravan
Of Persian camels plodding through the
sands,
Laden with riches brought from western
lands.

The merchants, tired and thirsty, stopped to
rest,
And Sassi in her hospitable way
Brought water in a jar to freshen them.
The tribesmen, with their fierce and war-
like glare,

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Talked of their journey, all the dangers
passed,
Their home in MAKRAN and the land of
KECH,
Their king called ARI, feared by everyone,
The Crown Prince—PUNNUN !
That fateful name ! and SASSI with a start,
Leaving her jar, sped quickly from the
scene,
And in her chamber reasoned out a plan
To bring her lover to her longing arms.
Upon some pretext fit to serve the case
The merchants were arrested. Only thus,
Deemed SASSI, could the Prince be brought
to her.
The force unleashed was greater than she
thought,
For soon to BHAMBOR were the prisoners
sent,
For trial . . .
And in the strongest prison in the town
Were shut away. More agile than the rest,
Two men escaped at night and fled away . . .
From all the subtle plottings of the State.
Onward they sped, 'cross desert, rock and
plain,
To tell of all that had befallen them
And their unhappy comrades. For they
knew
That wrathful vengeance was King ARI's
trait
And retribution would be swift and sure.

Far to the West of BHAMBOR lay MAKRAN,
The capital of all BALUCHISTAN . . .

Behind the jagged towers of citadels,
The royal palace of King ARI stood,
Commanding distant views of sea and land,
Built like a crouching, watchful beast of prey.
Numbers of camels filled the market squares,
And tribesmen armed with swords and
sharpened spears
Reclined in groups, and chatted as they ate.
Prince PUNNUN, leader of the countless host
Of Persians, Afghans of Baluchistan,
And captain of the King of OMAN's fleet,
Furnished his horse and tried his surging
strength,

His massive frame like RUSTUM in his
youth,
Eager for spoils, adventure and for love.

The time appointed, with the fall of night,
Bidding farewell to loved ones and to home,
The army moved as one relentless swarm.

They passed the wastes of salt and jagged
peaks,
Numberless deserts, where the dust-swirl
hums.
And ever as they went they sang their
songs
To sound of flute and cymbals and the
drums.

At last the walls of BHAMBOR came in sight,
And PUNNUN told his weary men to camp.
So all night long beneath the dome of stars,
Baluchi tents were lit by fires and lamps,
And warriors sharpened swords and fash-
ioned steel,
Weighted their arrows, oiled and cleaned
their bows,
Prayed that the future victory would be
theirs.

Along the walls of BHAMBOR sentries paced,
Their shadows cast by watch-fires in the
towers.

But in the sleeping city all was calm,
Though all the villagers for miles around
Had fled for safety there from warrior
bands,
Among them SASSI, all unknown, with
friends.

The days passed into weeks, the fight was
fierce,
And soon in BHAMBOR food was scarce, and
bad.

And King ADAM, conscious of his people's
needs,
Sent envoys to Prince PUNNUN to enquire
What purpose brought the foreign army
there.

The angry prince with proud disdainful
voice

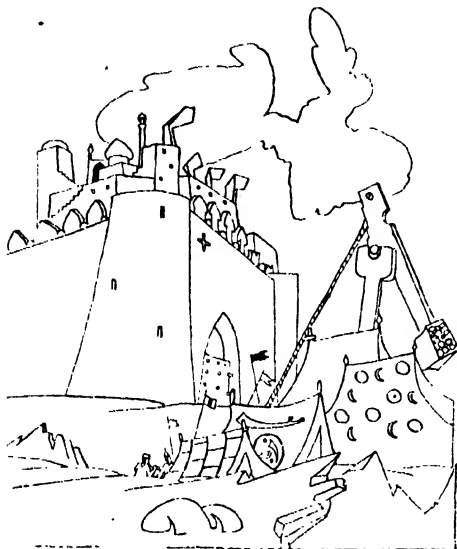
Demanded the release of prisoners held,
Payment besides . . .

King ADAM in his turn sent his reply,

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Agreed to the demands with one condition,
That single combat should decide the case.
PUNNUN agreed. . . .

And soon the camp in wild excitement
rose,
Prepared a battle-ground between the tents,
Upon a hard and even stretch of sand.
When the predestined day for battle came,
Uneasy tension filled the camp and town.
Who were to be the champions in the
fight?



At length, the trumpets rang from BHAM-
BOR's walls,
And riding through the gate their champion
came,
Clad in black armour, oiled from head to
foot,
With queer designs engraved in red and
gold.
A silence of respect swept through the
crowd.
Then from a distant tent the other came,
Encased in red, with helmet flashing brass.
His face was veiled so that his tribal name
Might not be known . . .
The horses reared and trod the sandy air.
Clutching their spears the warriors took
their ground,
And waited for the signal to attack.

The drum throbbed . . .
The horses charged and filled the sky with
dust,
Then came the crash and sound of splintered
wood.
The Knights rose to their feet and drew
their swords,
The blows fell fast and heavy, cruel and
fierce,
Till blood had soaked the stony land around.
Buffets and thrusts each champion sus-
tained,
Until the Red Knight, feeling faint and
weak,
Fell on one knee . . .
A muffled groan came from Baluchi throats.
The Black Knight raised his blood-stained
sword to strike
The final blow, when all at once
The other gained his strength,
Sprang to his feet, and with a feverish
hand
Struck his opponent, knocked him off his
feet,
And beat him to the ground.
The Black Knight sued for mercy, for his
life;
The Red Knight dropped his veil and from
the crowd
A cry of joy, surprise and fear was heard,
PUNNUN . . .
But at that fateful hour a figure pushed,
And ran from the assembled throng,
Rushed to triumphant PUNNUN, gripped his
feet,
And knelt a suppliant for BHAMBOR's king,
'Twas SASSI . . .
She told him all the story, start to end,
How she had kept the merchants shut in
prison;
She cast herself before her lawful judge.
But PUNNUN smiled, for all at once he felt
The girl beneath his feet was all the prize
His strength required,
Worth many weary marchings over sands.
He climbed on to his horse, and in his arms
Held SASSI. As he left, he cried,
"Break camp, O brothers, back to MAK-
RAN march,
Release the prisoners, nothing more I ask,

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For I have found a richer treasure here
Than all the gold in BHAMBOR's cellars
deep,
The victory is ours, the bloodshed cheap !"
With that the prince and princess, one at
last,
Rode from the scene and took the Indus
path,
To where old ATTA faithful lookout kept.
The humble village in the twilight slept.

* * * *

For many years the lovers had a home,
Within the village by the river's bank.
PUNNUN, his princely customs cast aside,
Went out to fish and labour in the fields,
While SASSI washed the clothes and cooked
the food.
But when King ARI heard in MAKRAN
tales
Of his son's conduct, straight his anger
burned.
He cunningly devised a ruthless plan
To bring the wayward warrior home again.
So when in BHAMBOR sports and fairs were
held,
PUNNUN who went there oft to try his skill
Was seized when drugged, and bound and
carried off
To far Baluchistan . . .
By Sindi traders in King ARI's pay.
Long SASSI waited for her Lord, for weeks
She wept, but still no sign of his return,
Until one day a village neighbour told
How PUNNUN had been seized and carried
off
Far to the West . . .
SASSI was desperate, maddened by her grief
She left the fireside secretly by night
And wandered westward, with the empty
hope
That some familiar camel-caravan
Would take her in their midst. She was
not seen
Again, but passers-by relate, as stories grow,
That once they saw a figure far away,
And westward marching, woman's shape,
it seemed,
Which disappeared in storms of dust and
sand.

When PUNNUN found himself in MAKRAN
court,
He stormed and fasted, wept and tore his
hair
And wandered as a madman in the town,
Until the people joked and mocked his
name.
In desperation ARI let him go,
And as he swore to come to court again
With SASSI as his Queen. If she refused
He would return alone . . .
So PUNNUN full of joy regained his mind
And took the swiftest camel in the town,
Saddled him, fed him, sped into the night,
No halt until the Indus river came in
sight.
But ATTA was alone, and SASSI fled,
And country rumours told of evil Jinns,
Of Spirits who devour the souls of wives
Whose husbands leave them . . .
So PUNNUN sought for news or for some
word,
But only foolish nods were given him,
Though some would point to mountains in
the West.
The hero kept his word and wandered back,
His heart was heavy and his features worn.
Day after day the camel plodded on
Across salt wastes, and plains of stunted
trees,
Past giant rocks and tents of Beduins.
Often, at night, beneath the dome of stars
The voice of ghostly spirits filled the winds,
Chilling the bones and sapping strength
and will.
At last on the horizon PUNNUN saw
The first stone building, white with dome
of mud,
And in the neighbourhood a tomb, new
dug.
Between them sat a Muslim Pir at prayer.
When he had ceased, PUNNUN with reverent
air
Enquired whose grave lay placed in such a
spot.
The old man smiled, and with a softened
voice
Explained it was the tomb of lady fair,
Nameless, forgotten. . . .

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Then PUNNUN saw a fragment of a dress
Laid at the foot, and grasped it in his hand,
'Twas SASSI's.

He sobbed and clutched the earth with
trembling hands,
And prayed that Heaven might take him
where she was.

But at that moment rose a mighty wind,
An earthquake rent the ground . . .
Nought but a pool remained where tomb
had stood.

PUNNUN and SASSI joined for good at last,
Brought fair Oases, Paradise to birth.
A sweet unselfish Spirit filled the Earth.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOVEL IN INDIA¹

By K. NAGARAJAN

THERE was a time when Indian fathers did not look with favour on their children reading novels. Scott, Dickens and Thackeray—they were prescribed by the Universities for study and were respectable. But when it came to the more lurid novels one just hid them away in one's drawer and read them on the sly. Not so very long ago, a South Indian writer happened to tell a business friend of his that he was engaged in writing a novel. The friend looked uncomprehending for a second and then with what seemed just the hint of a sneer in his voice asked, "Oh, things about love and that sort of thing?" He was quite a competent Tamil scholar, but at novels he drew the line. Not that he objected to love in literature any more than he did in life. Tamil literature was rich in romantic episodes though they were invariably set in the conventional mould. The sun and the moon, the stars, the birds of the sky, and even wandering wisps of cloud came into the picture. The very gods frequently came down to earth and took a hand in the love affairs of men. That was all in order and traditional, but for the more prosaic variety which ends—or in India, begins—with wedding-bells, he did not see any sense in describing such things in a book which would in all probability be read by young boys and girls in their teens. It was a childish

thing to do; more than a trifle improper. The relationship between a husband and wife was far too beautiful for words, too tender and far too intimate to be revealed to the public gaze.

Pre-marital endearments are not allowed in India; they do not ordinarily happen, while the public manifestation of conjugal affection is unthinkable. No doubt young spouses showered endearments on each other when they were alone, but they and the world behaved as though they did not do even that. Elaborate love-making may be all right in Western novels, but Suburbia was not the Coromandel Coast. In India, marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and bridegroom with an eye to practicalities, and the husband and wife accept without demur the happy state to which they are led by their practical-minded parents, whose creed of marriage is not unlike that of Tennyson's "Northern Farmer" that "a lass wi' money is as good to cuddle and kiss as one who 'asnt nowt." I have even heard it said by eminent writers of Indian fiction that this feature of life rather cramped their style. You cannot go very far with a bride whose maiden bashfulness was such that you cannot get her to do anything beyond looking demurely at her feet and dimpling at her cheeks. It was rather a handicap as, in novels, the story had to revolve round a love

¹ Lecture delivered to the Society on June 22.



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theme, or the public will not look at them. I think the only thing to do was to begin where the Western novels left off, namely with a marriage, and make the bridegroom woo the bride he had won which, in sober fact, he always did, only there was hardly any resistance.

I have referred to this feature of Indian life rather prominently as it may partly account for the fact that the English writer of fiction has generally steered clear of any attempt to represent the life of the average Indian home. The number of English writers who set out deliberately to write of the Indian in the setting of his own home you can count on the fingers of one hand and you will still be left with a finger or two to spare. Another reason for this avoidance of purely Indian themes was—let us be frank about it—their unfamiliarity with Indian home life and their disinclination to acquire any intimate knowledge of it. Perhaps it was intentional; if Oscar Wilde can be regarded as correctly reflecting the current attitude, it was. He said of Sir Edwin Arnold—I am quoting from Hesketh Pearson—"He knows India better than any living Englishman knows it, and Hindustani better than any English writer ought to know it." That "ought to know it" is very revealing! The English lived in a world of their own, met Indians in their offices or in the bazaar and then moved away like ships that pass in the night, only they were the same ships and the same crew, and they only saw the brasswork and the white paint and never went down into the hold or the living rooms. I am free to confess that the Indian, on his side, did not show any undue eagerness to open his doors to the Englishman. Anyway, the Englishman did not care to know how the wheels of Indian home life went round and that was, doubtless, one reason why he did not essay to sketch its career. The earlier fiction, therefore, mostly concerned itself about the life of the Englishman in India and India herself provided only the physical background. Some novelists refer to India incidentally; Captain Marryat, for example, and less excusably Thackeray are typical of

them; in their novels we find mention made of Indian Colonels, gallant or gouty with age or both, *lascars*, mulligatawney soup and enterprising young British women being carried over the surf in Madras to be deposited in the homes of the aforementioned Colonels to look for husbands who generally were round the corner or, if the search proved unavailing, to be shipped back home.

Perhaps the first considerable novel laid in an Indian setting was Scott's *The Surgeon's Daughter*. Sir Walter Scott had never been to India and his novel was a *tour de force* of the imagination. As time went on, more novels came to be written, and they all dealt with the life of the Englishman in India. Delafield Arnold, the brother of Matthew Arnold, wrote a novel *Oakfield*, which was published in 1853, and it gives a very good picture of contemporary English life in India. He was followed by many others who wrote novels of the same category which were, doubtless, widely read in their time but have since been forgotten.

An exception was Meadows Taylor. He knew India inside out and appears to have moved with Indians on terms of the closest intimacy, which is more than you can say of later-day Englishmen, who generally developed a distance and kept it. Meadows Taylor wrote three novels, mainly historical, which was plainly due to the fact that he was very near to the disturbed conditions through which the country had passed. His Tara and Chand Bibi are convincing and real, and have been sketched with rare insight and understanding.

Near the end of the century came Flora Annie Steel and Rudyard Kipling. The coupling of their names is merely intended to indicate that they lived and wrote about the same time and not to convey that they had anything in common with each other. Like Meadows Taylor, Flora Annie Steel was impressed by the pageant of India's history, and her themes were historical. When she did not write historical novels, she wrote novels of Anglo-Indian life.

When Kipling entered the field, the lesser

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lights faded away before his greater blaze. Everything which he saw or heard or smelt was material to his genius, and I believe his sketches of the Indian land and seascape are still unmatched for fidelity and vividness. They all leap to the eye and the ear, the Grand Trunk Road, the bustle and chaffer of the market-place, the *lamas* and the *lamaseris*, the spicy garlic smells of the bazaar. But when it came to the Indian home, the life round the courtyards and the village well, Kipling was no better than the rest. He was content to skim the surface of Indian life. He knew that to the Indian peasant, life was one long-drawn question between a crop and a crop, but it did not occur to him to cross the wheat and paddy fields and make his way into the peasant's mud-and-thatch wigwam. If he had done so, he would have seen hanging inside the loop of that formidable question mark a number of subsidiary interrogations, which was a summary of the peasant's daily cares and anxieties. How to get his child married off, how to pay the moneylender the last year's interest dues, or how to redeem that bracelet of his wife's which he had pawned with the pawnbroker. It was a rich vein which Kipling's magic could have worked to some purpose. But no, Ortheris, Mulvancy and Learoyd were pulling at his elbow and he yielded to their seduction, and he had no time for their Indian opposite numbers who in all honesty could sap and mine, and swear and sweat and shout in a manner that would have astonished Ortheris himself had he only understood the language. However, it must be noted that Kipling's genius intuitively perceived the true ideal of Hindu life and the Indian's capacity of devotion to an ideal. To renounce the world at the proper time, to retire to the forest and to give oneself up to contemplation, is the aim of most devout Hindus. In his story the *Miracle of Puran Bhagat*, he illustrates this creed of life in the person of one of the worldliest of men that ever lived. Puran Bhagat, Dewan of an Indian State, rich, wielding power and liking it, gives it all up and betakes himself to the forest and dies in

a miracle of self-sacrifice. That was the ideal of the race of Raghu. Kalidasa, the Indian dramatist who runs Shakespeare very close, reminded the beautiful Queen Sakuntala of it when she left her forest-home in search of her husband, the king, who had neglected her completely. She longed for her lover, but at the same time she was sad at the thought of leaving the trees of the forest, the hermitages and the deer which plucked at her *sari* and sought to hold her back. In lines of matchless beauty, the sage Kanva told her that her duty lay with her husband and his kingdom, and that she and her husband could come over to the forest in search of peace and calm when they had a son fit to take over the kingdom. Kipling had an absorbent and inquisitive mind and, I am sure, in the easier world of the 1880's and 90's, he listened to the learned men of India unfolding the plan and ideal of Indian life. Kipling obtained a vision of this and left a record of it and in that way took the Indian novel one step forward. Coming from Kipling, it was as though the Hosts of Tuscany had set up a cheer. Had he looked further, he could have given us authentic pictures of the Indian at work and at play, as the victim and, sometimes, the master of circumstance. But, no, the lure of the big drum was irresistible and he began beating it, which, curiously enough, does not appear to have been taken seriously, even in Britain.

Meanwhile, Indian authors had begun to appear on the scene and it was Bengal which first blazed the trail. Bankim Chunder Chatterjee wrote most moving stories of Indian family life. They have been translated into various Indian tongues, and if you want to read of the still, sad music of Indian life, it is Bankim Chunder Chatterjee you should read. Bankim Chunder Chatterjee was one of the first-fruits of the great national awakening which was taking place in India. There was a quickening of the social sense, a shocked realization of the unbalanced life in which Indian men and women had acquiesced through the ages, and Bankim Chunder Chatterjee gave passionate expression to it in his novels and aroused

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answering echoes in the heart of every thinking Indian. The gospel which he preached caught on till it found its most vivid and arresting expression in Mahatma Gandhi. Resolute mastery of self and a whole-hearted dedication of it in the cause of the country's liberation from her political and social fetters were the lessons which he conveyed. To quote Arabinda Ghose, it was "the religion of patriotism" which Bankim Chunder Chatterjee preached in his novels.

Not so obvious in purpose but inspired by the same motives and tending in the same direction were the stories of Rabindranath Tagore. Chatterjee expressed his feelings in the unvarnished language of the soul, but Tagore was an artist in words and a master of *technique*. He was a genius of a different and higher order. He was made in the mould of a poet and could see the universal in the particular. He specialized in short stories in which he gives arresting vignettes of the life of the Indian by the side of the river, in the fields, and in the crowded cities of men and governments. His novel *Home and Abroad* reveals the extent of the hold which the new nationalism had over the minds of young Bengal. Tagore's scenes are laid in Bengal, but change the names, they will apply with equal fidelity to the riverine region of the Punjab, the Deccan plateau or the sun-baked plains of the south. Rabindranath Tagore represented the mood of the hour and he spoke and wrote in an idiom which went straight to the hearts of the young. Like Bankim Chunder Chatterjee, he longed to see India independent in mind and body and deplored the partition walls which outworn customs had erected inside the country. I like his stories very much indeed; but, truth to tell, I prefer his poems with their wistful tenderness and rhythms reminiscent of the Elizabethans.

These two—Chatterjee and Tagore—were portents. They were appalled by the smugness and self-complacency into which Indians appeared to have subsided, and they sought to rouse them from their stupor. Like the Duke in *Measure for Measure*, they warned Indians that they had

Nor youth nor age,
But as it were an after dinner sleep
Dreaming of both.

Madras added her voice in a passionate plea for a radical re-ordering of society in one or two well-told stories. Madhaviah and Ramakrishna, in eminently readable novels, attested to their sense of social wrong. At the turn of the century, then, fiction was the expression of a revived national consciousness.

Alongside of these, Englishmen and women were turning out novels of Anglo-Indian life by the score. The names are well-known: Mrs. Penny, Alice Perrin, B. M. Croker, Maud Diver, leap to one's memory. Readable stories all, pleasantly and sometimes enchantingly told, of the life of the British people in Indian cities and cantonments, of pig-sticking and polo, parties at Government House, resplendent dinners at the palaces of Indian princes, pale versions of Mrs. Hauksbee and Mrs. Riever, but only touching the fringe of the complicated pattern of Indian life. They had little use for the Indian, whom they regarded as an inferior species, to be kept at a distance; be polite by all means, but, fraternization, no. And if they wanted to be humorous, they knew the gambit; they had only to invent a Babu and gibe at his malapropisms or the malapropisms which they invented for him, or invent Indian officials who bore themselves as Mr. Collins did to Lady Catherine de Burgh.

That, however, was a passing phase. The war—I mean the one of 1914-18—opened the eyes of the world and a juster view came to be taken. The Indian came to have a "guid conceit" of himself, and the earlier cocksureness of the British chronicler vanished. Mir Jelaluddin, who had been at Cambridge with Peter Stubland, was fighting with the French Army because, as he explained to Peter, he could not be an officer in the British Army as it would not do for British troops to salute Indian officers, and a new bitterness had come into his tone. H. G. Wells noticed this; so did others who saw other indefensible differentiations and did not like what they saw.

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It was time that the crystallized prejudice of the European against the Indian was broken, shattered to pieces and scattered to the winds. God in His good time produced the man for the job and that man was E. M. Forster. His *Passage to India* marked an epoch, not only in the Indian novel, but in the attitude of the British to the Indian, who, if they did not clasp to the bosom as a "vera brither" at least came to regard him as a not too distant cousin. Literature thus smoothed the way which Empire was blocking with social boulders. Forster's book was received with doubt, dismay and delight in that order. The English thought he was caricaturing them; the Indians thought they were being made fun of. But it was not long before his sincerity and complete freedom from any comic motive were plain both to the Indian and the European.

Forster had rendered a great service, and in his wake came other writers who saw things in a friendlier and unsuperior way. They strove to understand the Indian, his mind, his hopes, and his cares, and wrote understandingly of them. I shall mention only three, Dennis Kincaid, Hilton Brown and Maurice Collis. Maurice Collis really wrote about Burma and the Burmese, but he was I.C.S., and when he wrote Burma was, or at all events had not long ceased to be, part of India, and I like his novels, so I won't be meticulous but shall include him among Anglo-Indian novelists.

Dennis Kincaid knew his Sind and Maharashtra. His pictures of the life of the people of those provinces are true in every detail. It is sincere writing, no wonder it was successful. He has narrative power and a great deal of inside information of life in palace and hovel.

Hilton Brown's novels and short stories—in so far as they relate to India—deal with Madras, which was, till then, more or less of a Cinderella to English writers of Indian fiction. Even Paget, M.P.—unless I am very much mistaken—did not stray to the South Country. If he had, mosquitoes might have found him a treat as they did in the north of India, but he would have been delighted by

the Cathedral Cities of South India and the ancient culture they have conserved within their walls. However, Hilton Brown helped in the good work of putting Madras on the literary map of India. He knew the countryside, the tanks and the temples, the jungles where the jackals howled at night and the homes of the Indians, and he loved them all. He writes with sincere appreciation of what he calls that "land of little ease and strange delight." His *technique* is perfect and he is a master of English prose. That was because, I think, like Kipling, he could write light verse which, at times, recalls the cadences of Kipling himself and Swinburne. In neatly formed phrases he raised in your mind the picture he had in his. Latterly, he has faltered in his first love and gone to other climes for his themes, but if he will only remember that India, like his favourite Scotland and the house of Romie, still stands, he can help to raise the stock of Indian fiction still further.

Maurice Collis knows his Burma as Dennis Kincaid knew Maharashtra or Hilton Brown Madras. He is thoroughly at home among the *pwes* and the *pagodas*, with the derelict princes and princesses that were still to be found there in his time. His *Sanda Mala* for example, and *There Was a Queen* one can read with genuine enjoyment. After reading Maurice Collis, one hears the call of Moulmein, if not of Mandalay—

Where the flying-fishes play
And the dawn comes up like thunder
Out'er China 'crost the Bay!

While English writers were coming to write of India with a new understanding, a phalanx of Indian novelists were under formation. A. S. Panchapakesa Aiyar, whose name Oxford shortened to the more manageable A. S. P. Aiyar, wrote a historical novel, *Baladitya*, and followed it up by *Three Men of Destiny*, these being Chandragupta, Chankya and Alexander the Great. A. S. P. Aiyar had a vivid and ebullient fancy, and he succeeded in re-creating the Indian world of two thousand years ago. *Baladitya* is full of incident—perhaps a little too full—and the clash of character, and it moves effortlessly

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOVEL IN INDIA

forward. His aim was to remind young India of the mighty men of the past.

K. S. Venkatramani's nationalism took the form of a passionate plea for a return to the village. He loved the rippling sunlight, the sand-dunes of the Cauveri where his forefathers had bathed and prayed, and the temple-bells which summoned the villagers to worship. He knew the half-naked Indian peasant who laboured on the land for less than a song and he pleaded for a fairer deal to him. The resuscitation of the economy of the village was the gospel which he preached in his novels. He wrote in faultless English and could turn out picturesque metaphors. He was a popular writer, and it is a pity his output has not been larger.

R. K. Narayan, who made his appearance much later, is perhaps better known in Britain. He writes for the pleasure of writing. He is content to paint pictures of Indian life and does not worry about messages. His writing is easy, clear and diaphanous, and he tells his stories engagingly. His stories are true to the pattern of Indian life; check them up with the story of his boyhood which Noel Sircar has so delightfully sketched in *An Indian Boyhood* and I am pretty certain you will agree.

The man who enslaved the fancy of the people of Madras is S. V. Vijayaraghavachari, better known as S. V. V. He has a keen sense of humour and an unerring eye for the foibles of men, which he exposes devastatingly but without the least touch of malice. Like Narayan—he was really in the field long before Narayan, and if I mention him out of his order that is because I wish to linger over him for a while—like Narayan, he writes because he loves to do so, and, like Tony Lumpkin, he cannot bear to disappoint himself. It was most diverting, the way he tripped up people as they walked down the aisle, the pompous official, the clamourer at the hustings, the doer of good works and the army of fussy folk that go merrily along while an amused or bored world looks tolerantly on. He has now taken to writing in Tamil, and the number of readers whom he now gladdens through the hebdomadal columns

of the *Ananda Vikatan* is far larger than ever before.

Shanker Ram and Raja Rao have written moving pictures of the Indian country-side on which I would have liked to dwell had I the time.

C. S. Aiyar is a later arrival in the field. He writes as one suffering from a sense of the jars and clashes of unregulated family life. A more balanced life in the home and outside it which would rule out the wind and the rain is what he craves for, as his *Life's Shadows* elucidate.

One notices in these writers, as in others one could mention, that the political motive has receded into the background—perhaps because the struggle for freedom was being waged on a wider front or because they thought the stridencies of political passion need no longer be heard in the field of fiction.

A new type of writer has since come to the fore, and of that type Mulk Raj Anand is perhaps the best representative. He sees life in the raw and exposes it mercilessly, flesh, wounds, blood and all. He has had intimate and fruitful contacts with the West—from Mayfair to Moscow—and shedding sentimentalism, writes with a fine touch of scorn of the social and economic inequalities which to him make a mockery of much of Indian life. He is not a cynic by any means; he is full of hope that these outworn and disfiguring excrescences will soon be swept away. His novels have a powerful appeal to young and resurgent India. Anand is not parochial by any means, and is one of those who would break the barriers which keep nations divided.

In recent years, novels have come to be written in the various Indian tongues. I can only speak of what is being done in my part of the world—the Tamil country. Excellent work is being done in the way of short stories and full-length novels. Our writers are no longer addicted to complicated plots and aim at sketching character and states of mind. The poor man and the peasant, the clerks in the offices, the factory worker, mistresses and maids, what they make of it all—these are their material. Speaking to an English

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOVEL IN INDIA

audience, I do not think I need do anything more than merely mention a few among our outstanding writers of fiction, and they are K. V. Jagannathan, Krishnamurti (of Kalki), K. P. Rajagopalan (snatched away in the full promise of his youth), Va Ra, M. P. Periaswami and Kumudini. Masti Venkatesa Aiyangar, with his roots in the past, writes attractively in Cananese and is next door to us. Every Indian tongue is now represented in fiction, and I learn on very good authority that in Bengal, Maharashtra, Guzarat, in Hindi and Urdu, there are novelists who, to use a colloquialism, are "top-dog and top-hole."

In fiction our debt to England is immense. English novelists furnished our earlier and favourite models and, in recent years, Russian authors have run them close. But we are no longer merely imitative; recent trends indicate that Indian writers will present in the guise of fiction those things of the mind and the spirit by which India sets great store. Yes, the things of the spirit, for

India cannot get away from that, and if any writer should sniff at them, he may have a temporary vogue but his influence will not last. Indian philosophy has attracted some of the maturer minds of this country and the works of T. S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley, Edward Carpenter, and Christopher Isherwood, not to mention our distinguished chairman, will serve to reinforce and accentuate the renewed faith of Indians in the learning which they have inherited from the past.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it was very kind of the Royal India and Pakistan Society to ask me to speak to them. I am aware that I have been addressing some of the finest flowers of English culture, not the least fragrant among them being our esteemed Chairman, and if I did not apologize in advance for my deficiencies, that was because apology takes time and I hoped you would have the goodness to take it as read. I am deeply sensible of the honour and am profoundly grateful.

BOOK REVIEWS

Commerce and Conquest. By C. Lestock Reid.
(G. J. Temple.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PERCIVAL SPEAR)

This lively and entertaining work awakens nostalgic memories of days when money was easier to come by and questions were more sparingly asked, and if asked, still more sparingly answered. The author, a grandson of one of the last directors of the East India Company, is introduced by another veteran lover of the Indian past, Lord Birdwood of Anzac. He strides gaily and confidently down the corridors of history, sure that the Company was always right except when it interfered with its own servants or restrained "the men on the spot." Nor was the Crown government always wrong; it only erred when interfering with the Company or restraining the beneficent line of great pro-

consuls whose autocratic government is "the only form of government which the Indian really understands and likes." Their rule, he firmly believes, was "a good thing," from which it follows that most of the developments of the twentieth century in India have been bad things. The line of the great pro-consuls ended with Curzon but it had already suffered a sad gap in the person of Lord William Bentinck, who, says our author, "failed abysmally." It is conceded, however, that this was partly due to the mischievous influence of Macaulay, who was responsible for "the great, and in the end, disastrous mistake, the Westernisation of Indian education." The introduction of the "competition wallah" was another blunder. With the failure of the "great conspiracy" of 1857 came the great betrayal of the abolition of the Company's rule. Major Reid

BOOK REVIEWS

draws the curtain, perhaps wisely, at this point, merely permitting himself a peep into the deepening gloom of a future which was to culminate in "abdication in craven haste while a large and slavish majority applauds this act of unprecedented cowardice as 'wise and statesmanlike.'" The book may be described as a bluff and salty conversation piece from the point of view of a Company merchant given plenty of rope by the Home authorities. As such it has the vigour of a robust individualism; it possesses humour, wit and even pathos. Not all its anecdotes, like that of Bentinck and the Taj, are authentic, and some of its statements, like that of the violation of British women in the streets of Delhi during the Mutiny, are irresponsible as well as untrue. But the book has value as an evocation from the past of a certain type of adventurer, with his outlook on the world of wonders and curiosities existing beyond the seas.

It remains to be said that the book is clearly printed and provided with excellent illustrations chosen with skill and imagination.

Delhi—Chungking. A Travel-Diary. By K. P. S. Menon, with a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. (Oxford University Press.) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by PERCIVAL SPEAR)

This book is a record of a journey made from Delhi to Chungking in 1944 by a

distinguished member of the Indian Political Service, now high in the counsels of the Indian Government. Mr. Menon's first journey to Chungking, in 1943, took eleven hours by air, his second, 125 days. He went the hard way. Starting from Srinagar in Kashmir he went through the Karakoram ranges to Yarkand and Kashgar, and thence by "the silk route" through Turfan to Urumchi in Sinkiang and so on to Chungking, the wartime capital of China, via Lanchow by air.

Mr. Menon records his experiences and encounters with accuracy, humour and urbanity. He was equally at home with high Tory British politicals, Chinese servants and Central Asian tribesmen. All the while his mind was alert to political and economic possibilities and quick to detect traces of Indian cultural influence. The narrative flows smoothly on until it ends with reflections at the tomb of Ghenghiz Khan and the breaking of two of the ten commandments of the Officers' Moral Endeavour Association posted in the neighbouring guest house. Even more than the countries traversed the book reveals the mind of the author. It is a well-balanced, well-stocked and observant mind; it bodes well for the new Indian government that it has such minds in its service and that it gives to them its confidence. The book has interesting, though rather small, illustrations, and a most useful map in a folder.

THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE BUDDHIST SOCIETY

By kind permission of the High Commissioner for India, the President and members of the Council of the Buddhist Society, London, held a Reception in one of the beautiful rooms of India House, on November 17, 1949. This was the earliest item on a programme to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Buddhist Society, formed in London twenty-five years ago by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, who is still the President. As India House is a part of India it was most suitable that the first part of the celebrations should take place on "Indian soil," for it was in India that Gotama the Buddha was born, lived and taught; and it is the object of the Buddhist Society to "publish and make known the principles of Buddhism and to encourage the study and application of these principles." The Society feels most grateful to the High Commissioner

for India both for his recognition that London Buddhists and friends of Buddhism should meet in "India," and for his presence at the Reception. There was a large and representative gathering, which included members of many Buddhist lands: Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Japan, China and Cambodia and European Buddhists from London, many parts of England, and as far away as Finland. There were also present those particularly interested in Buddhist philosophy, art and literature and the publication of books on Buddhism, as well as members of the Foreign Office and British Council. After being graciously received by Mr. and Mrs. Humphreys all the visitors greatly enjoyed meeting old friends and making new acquaintances, for all had a common bond in their interest in Buddhism. I. B. HORNER.

VISIT OF SIR EUGEN MILLINGTON-DRAKE, K.C.M.G., TO THE EAST FOR CULTURAL PURPOSES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ROYAL INDIA AND PAKISTAN SOCIETY

VISITING CEYLON, PAKISTAN, INDIA, BURMA, THAILAND, MALAYA, INDO-CHINA, HONG KONG, AND MANILA.

November 1949 to February 1950

1. General Cultural Purposes of Visit with the co-operation of the Royal India and Pakistan Society

Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, who after being British Minister in Montevideo held the newly created post of Chief Representative of the British Council in Spanish America from 1942 to 1946, is making the above journey as a contribution to the promotion of cultural relations with the countries mentioned, and to do this mainly by lectures consisting of readings of English poetry and

also of Eastern poetry written in English or translated into English. He would wish to utilize his experience in Latin America in general and in particular of this means of making known English culture and of getting to know local poetry and culture. He will be introduced to suitable local institutions by the Royal India and Pakistan Society, with whose objects he is in complete sympathy, and he intends on his return to co-operate in making Eastern poetry and literature better known to the general public in Britain.

VISIT TO THE EAST

He is also offering to lecture for the British Council and the *Alliance Française* on any occasions that may be suitable.

II. *Circumstances which render the Journey possible financially and facilitate Travel Arrangements*

As Sir Eugen disposes of certain limited funds in India which cannot be transferred to England, he feels that these cannot be better utilized than in undertaking the above journey in an attempt to contribute to the development of cultural relations in general between Britain and the countries mentioned on the lines indicated in the opening paragraph, and in particular to assist the work of the Royal India and Pakistan Society.

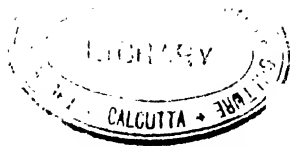
As regards travel facilities and hospitality, being the son-in-law of the first Earl of Inchcape, he will be fortunate enough to have the assistance of the firms established by him throughout the East, and the present Lord Inchcape has very kindly promised him hospitality in the premises of these firms in many of the places to be visited.

III. *The Lecturer's connection with the Poetry Society, with the Royal Society of India and Pakistan, the Alliance Française, and American Institutions*

It may be mentioned that Sir Eugen has been a Vice-President of the Poetry Society since 1942, and desires to pay a tribute to the work in making known English poetry of Lord Wavell, both as some-time President of that Society and as compiler of *Other Men's Flowers*, which has been of the greatest use to the writer, particularly in research-saving, in these eleventh-hour labours in the vineyard of poetry.

Sir Eugen has been in contact with the Royal India and Pakistan Society, one of its Vice-Chairmen, Sir William Barton, and its Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. Richter, who have given him much useful advice and are kindly providing him with introductions to corresponding Societies at the places he will visit.

Further, Sir Eugen, who spent his early boyhood in France, and is therefore nearly bi-lingual, has always maintained close contact with the *Alliance Française*, since he won two of their open Prizes while he was at Oxford. He is therefore approaching them with a view to lecturing at their branches in the places visited, giving a lecture entitled *Pensées Anglaises sur la France*. This lecture was given successfully in Paris at the Sorbonne and at the *Cercle Interallié*, under the presidency of M. André Siegfried.



STUDY CIRCLE FOR ORIENTAL MUSIC

THE purpose of the Circle is to study the position and nature of music in oriental countries, and their inter-relationship, and in doing so to stimulate interest and understanding of oriental music as a whole.

For this purpose lecture demonstrations and concerts are organized, as far as possible by demonstrations of the countries concerned, and with the aid of authentic records.

The course of study, and the activities of the Circle, are under the direction of Dr. Arnold Baké, Reader in Sanskrit at the University of London, who is also lecturer on Indian music. The text of his inaugural lecture is published in the present issue of ART AND LETTERS.

The meetings take place in the centre of London at a convenient hour.

Seven lectures are being held during the winter season, in addition to regular monthly meetings of the Study Group. The Study

Group intends to meet once or twice before each lecture or demonstration or concert, to discuss the problems involved.

The annual subscription is ten shillings and sixpence. Members of the Royal India and Pakistan Society are not expected to pay an additional subscription to join the Circle.

The following is the first series of lectures:

1. South Indian Music.
2. The Music of Ceylon.
3. North Indian Music.
4. Tagore's Music.
5. Siamese Music.
6. Indonesian Music.
7. Egyptian Music.

All additional information is obtainable from the HON. SECRETARY, ROYAL INDIA AND PAKISTAN SOCIETY, 3, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

J. S. YULE, O.B.E.

Lieut.-Colonel,

Chairman of the Study Circle.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN TO ORIENTAL RESEARCH

By Professor J. Ph. VOGEL, Ph.D.¹

IT is well known that the University of Leyden was founded in 1575 by William of Orange as a reward for the heroism and marvellous endurance displayed by the citizens during the prolonged and bitter siege of five months ending with its relief on October 3 of the preceding year. By this act the princely founder showed not only an enlightened spirit, but also an astounding measure of confidence in the righteousness of the cause for which he had raised his standard against the mightiest monarch of Europe. The struggle with Spain, which was to last eighty years, had only commenced and the

position of the Netherlands was then so desperate that there was little reason to predict ultimate success.

Besides, there was a practical difficulty—how would it be possible to find scholars to occupy the chairs of the new University? On February 8, 1575, when the solemn inauguration took place, no theologian had yet been appointed, although the University was intended in the first place to be a seminary of pastors of the Protestant religion. It was the local divine, Caspar Coolhaas, who delivered the inaugural address.

In the year 1591 it was considered essential

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to attach a scholar of European fame to the young University. Such a man was Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), a Frenchman by birth and moreover a Protestant, who was universally regarded as the most learned scholar of the age. An emissary was sent to France by the Curators of the University, first to Henry IV, to obtain the King's co-operation, and then to the great man himself who was living in Touraine. Scaliger did not at once consent, and after eight months a second deputation was needed to make him yield. The conditions offered him were most liberal. He was exempted from public lectures, taxes, and house rent. He was to receive an annual salary of f. 1,200 and f. 800 as a gratification.^a The only function required from him was to be the Ornament of the University ("Decus Academiæ").

The cost of his travel from Preuilly near Tours to Leyden amounted to f. 3,500. On his passage through France he was escorted by thirty-two mounted soldiers and seven lackeys on horseback. A Dutch man-of-war awaited him at Dieppe to convey him to Holland. In August, 1593, he arrived at Leyden.

Scaliger was a very great authority on Greek and Latin. But the field of his studies extended far beyond the domain of classical literature. In his famous chronological work *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583), he included the eras of the Arabs, Copts, Persians and Armenians. He took a peculiar interest in Arabic, but found it very hard to master that language.

Among the portraits of professors covering the walls of our Senate Room, that of Scaliger is the earliest. It must have been painted shortly before his death, which occurred on January 21, 1609. It shows him in profile in russet mantle clad, seated at his writing-desk with a pen in his right hand and holding an Arabic manuscript in his left. The portrait is painted on a wooden panel and on the back there is a Eulogy in Latin verse composed by Hugo Grotius. In this poem Scaliger is described as emaciated and tortured by dropsy, and special attention is drawn to the *chartas Nabathei munera celi* held in his left hand.

The upper corner is marked with the coat-of-arms of the Della Scalas of Verona, from which illustrious house the Scaligers claimed descent.

It was due to Scaliger's influence that the Curators and Burgomasters of Leyden decided to found a chair for Arabic and other oriental languages, the navigation to the East Indies being mentioned as the principal motive. But it was not easy to find a suitable person. The appointment was considered of one Jan Theunisz, an inn-keeper at Amsterdam, who had been taught Arabic by a Muslim from Morocco in exchange for the hospitality enjoyed in his inn, so that, at least in his own estimation, he was quite capable of translating the Koran and writing books in Arabic. He was invited to Leyden, but it turned out that he did not know much Latin and this deficiency rendered him unfit for the post.

A worthier candidate was soon found. It was Thomas Erpenius, a friend of Grotius, who had studied classics and theology at Leyden. His interest in oriental languages had been roused by Scaliger, but it was an English orientalist, William Bedwell, who assisted him in the study of Arabic. In February, 1613, he was appointed to the new chair, and on May 14 he delivered his inaugural address, *Oratio de lingua Arabica*. In this oration he said that Arabic was not a barbaric, horrid and uncultured language, as admirers of Greek and Latin were inclined to assume. He praised the richness, elegance and melodiousness of the Arabic language and expatiated on the various reasons for which a knowledge of Arabic was desirable. It is, he said, the language of many Eastern countries. It has produced a very extensive literature on the most diversified subjects, such as medicine, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, philosophy, geography and history. The study of Arabic was of great help for the better understanding of other oriental languages, especially Hebrew and Aramaic. In conclusion Erpenius laid great stress on what he considered the principal aim of Arabic studies. He was confident that a thorough knowledge of that language would

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render it possible to convince the followers of Muhammad of their errors and to convert them to Christianity.

Erpenius was a very able and enthusiastic teacher, but it was no easy task to teach a language without text-books. He started by writing an Arabic grammar and this book, which was published at Leyden in 1613, was re-edited several times even as late as the nineteenth century. On the title-page the author is designated as "Arabicæ, Persicæ et cæterarum linguarum Orientalium in Academia Leidensi professor." In the next year he published a collection of two hundred Arabian proverbs with a translation and notes in Latin. Erpenius spent a sum of f. 6,000 on the purchase of Arabic manuscripts and started a press for the printing of books in Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic and Hebrew characters. This printing-press was established in his own house in the Breestraat, the main street of Leyden. The useful career of this first Arabic professor of Leyden came to an abrupt and tragic end. During a plague epidemic he had to go to The Hague on official business and contracted the dreadful disease. He was brought back to Leyden and died on November 13, 1624, at the age of forty years.

Erpenius was succeeded by his pupil Jacob Golius (1596-1667), an orientalist of even greater fame than his predecessor. Golius, who belonged to a patrician family of Leyden, mastered an incredibly wide range of subjects. As a student at Leyden, he read not only philosophy and classics, but also medicine and mathematics, including physics and astronomy. He was not a scholar who passed his life in his study. In a most remarkable manner he put his extensive knowledge to practical use. Besides, it was his fervent wish to perfect his knowledge of oriental languages in the countries where they were spoken and thus to become acquainted with the customs and religious practices of the people. In the capacity of an engineer he accompanied an embassy of the States General to Morocco in 1622. Having been appointed professor of Arabic at Leyden, he obtained a furlough of one and a half years

to be spent in oriental countries for the purpose of linguistic studies. From his extensive and sometimes dangerous travels in Syria, Mesopotamia and Turkey he brought home some three hundred manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish and Persian.

Golius was professor for thirty-eight years, and during this long period he published several books intended for the benefit of his students. His *Lexicon Arabicum*, which appeared in 1654, remained in general use as long as the nineteenth century. He also wrote a Persian-Latin and a Turkish-Latin dictionary of which only the former was published. It was mainly due to the exertions of Erpenius and Golius that the University Library of Leyden became a storehouse of oriental manuscripts unrivalled in Western Europe. It inspired Constantijn Huygens to a Latin poem stating that the value of the manuscripts acquired by Golius equalled the treasures of the Spanish Silver Fleet captured in 1628 by Piet Hein in the Bay of Matanzas.

This collection was further enriched by the princely donation of Levinus Warner. This distinguished orientalist, who was born in 1619 at Lippe in Germany, had studied at Leyden under Golius. In 1654 he was appointed "Resident" of the States-General at Constantinople and remained in that important and difficult function until his premature death in 1665 at the age of forty-six. His reputation as a man of learning was such that in 1648 the Curators offered him the chair of Hebrew. But he preferred to stay on in the East for the sake of his studies. During his ten years' residence in the Turkish capital he collected a large number of valuable manuscripts which, together with his scientific notes and papers, he bequeathed to the Leyden University. This bequest, known as *Legatum Warnerianum*, to which were added the manuscripts previously acquired, still forms a most important department of our University Library.

During the eighteenth century the chair of Arabic was held in succession by Albert Schultens (1732-50), his son Johannes Jacobus (1750-78) and his grandson Hendrik Albert (1778-93). All three were no doubt

CONTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN TO ORIENTAL RESEARCH

excellent Arabic scholars, especially Albert, who was a great linguist. He was the first to oppose the view, then commonly held, of Hebrew being the mother-tongue of all languages, while demonstrating the differences between the Semitic languages and Persian and Turkish. But somehow these worthy gentlemen, with their *embonpoint* and imposing periwigs, are less fascinating personalities than the adventurous pioneers of our Golden Age.

As regards the nineteenth century let me only mention two renowned Arabic scholars who adorned the University of Leyden. The one was R. P. A. Dozy (1820-83), who, in 1850, was appointed professor of mediæval and modern history after having been *Interpres Legati Warneriani* some years before. He was the author of *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (4 vols.), which appeared at Leyden in 1861 and is still a classic. The other is Dozy's pupil, M. J. de Goeje (1836-1909), who in 1866 became professor of Semitic languages at Leyden and in 1876 professor of Arabic. He is known as the editor of numerous literary, historical and geographical texts in Arabic. The geographical texts he published in the eight volumes of his well-known *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*.

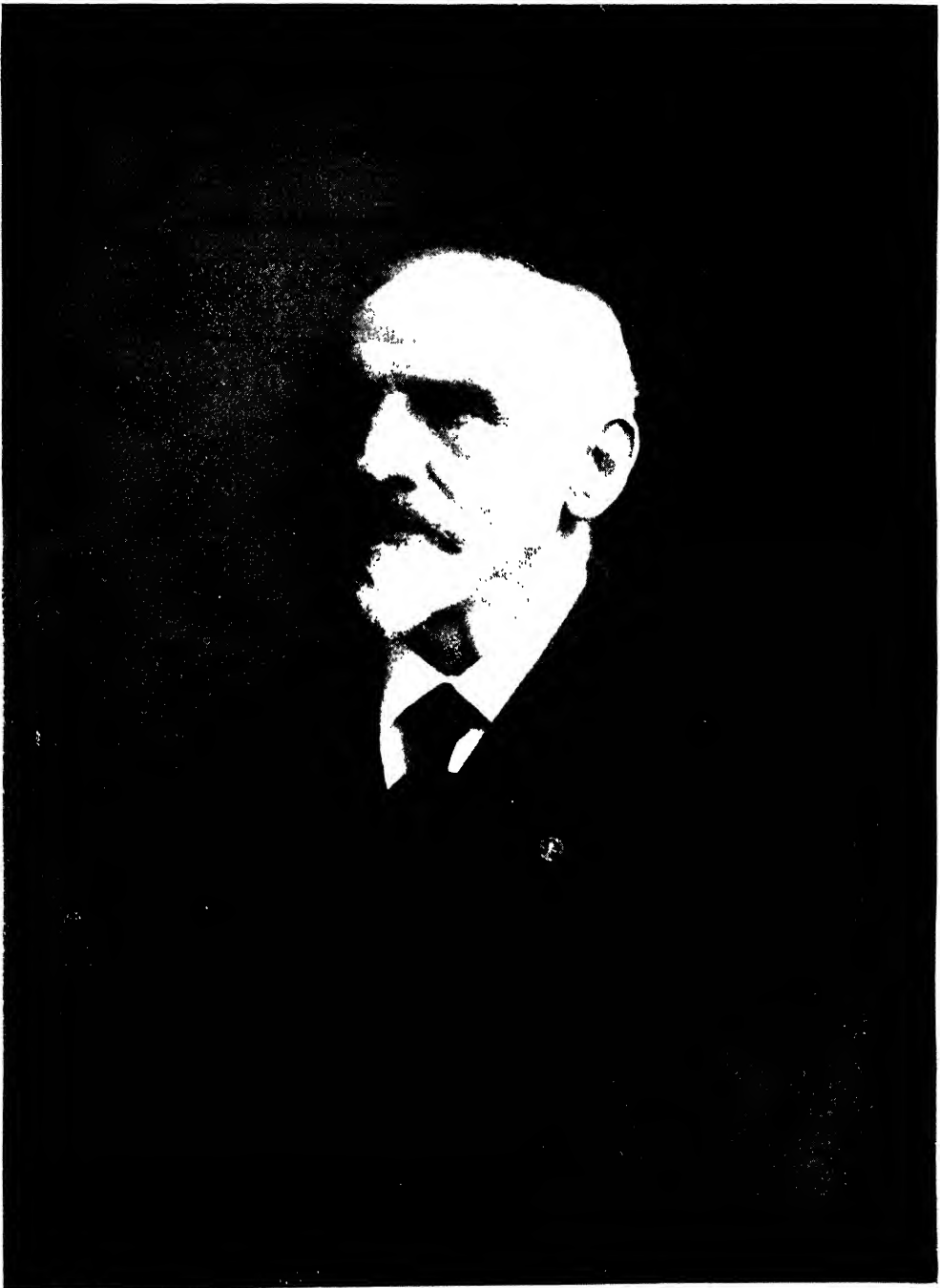
It would be a serious omission not to speak at some length of the eminent scholar, De Goeje's pupil and successor, who occupied the chair of Arabic from 1907 to 1927 and died in 1936. Most of us still retain a very vivid recollection of his striking personality. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in some respects reminds us of our great Arabic scholars of the seventeenth century. He too did not content himself with a knowledge acquired from books, but felt it as an imperative necessity to study the language among the people by whom it is spoken.

In 1880 Snouck Hurgronje took his doctor's degree at Leyden at the age of twenty-three, and four years later he accompanied the Dutch consul, Mr. J. A. Kruyt, to Jiddah, the port of Mecca. His real goal was Mecca itself, the religious centre of the Muhammadan world. In 1885 he succeeded in pene-

trating to the sacred city, where he lived in disguise for five and a half months under the name of Abd al-Ghaffār. His book *Mekka* (two vols., 1888-89), written in German,^a contains a very accurate account of the city and its inhabitants and procured the author a world-wide fame.

The next period of his career was devoted to Netherlands India, or Indonesia as it is now called, where his chief function was to advise the Governor-General's Government on matters relating to oriental languages and Muhammadan Law. Thus his great learning and excellent judgment were utilized for practical purposes. His beneficial activity was especially exercised in Achin, the sultanate at the north-west extremity of Sumatra. For many years this mountainous country with its fanatical population, notorious for piracy, had been a thorn in the side of Netherlands India. It was like the North-West Frontier was for British India. Despite military expeditions and treaties Achin remained turbulent and unsubdued. At last in 1898 it was pacified by General Van Heutsz, but the merit of this pacification was largely due to the wise councils of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. It was he who realized that it was essential in the first instance to acquire an exact knowledge of the Achinese, their characteristics, social institutions and religious beliefs. The results of his investigations are laid down in his book *De Atjehers*, published in two volumes in 1893-94. An English translation by O'Sullivan appeared at Leyden in 1906.

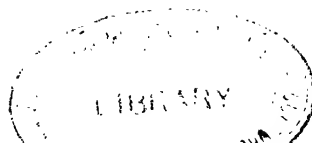
In 1906 Snouck Hurgronje returned to Holland after an absence of seventeen years spent in Indonesia. It is typical of the indefatigable worker that during those years he never took furlough or vacation. The remaining thirty years of his life he lived at Leyden, where, shortly after his return, he was appointed Professor of Arabic and the Institutions of Islām. In his inaugural address (January 23, 1907) he emphasized the importance of a knowledge of Islām for all employed in governing and educating "our East Indian brethren." During his professorate many students profited by his



PROF. SNOUCK HURGRONJE

Photograph by Ponder

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PROF. N. KROM



PROF. H. KERN

Photograph by van der Sch.

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inspiring instruction. He was an excellent but stern teacher who took a personal interest in his pupils. He kept up a correspondence with many of them after they had left the University.

Snouck Hurgronje was a patriot and a cosmopolitan. He had friends all over the world and he thoroughly enjoyed meeting them and receiving them in his house. He promoted the international co-operation of orientalists and partly for this purpose was founded the Oriental Society of the Netherlands of which he was the first President. I remember his joy when, shortly after the first world war, he had three colleagues staying with him—an Englishman, a Frenchman and a German.

Snouck Hurgronje took the initiative in the founding of the Oriental journal *Acta Orientalia*, due to the co-operation of Danish, Dutch and Norwegian orientalists. The first volume appeared in 1925 and up to the present twenty volumes of this journal have been published. Among orientalists Snouck Hurgronje was honoured as the great Arabic scholar intimately acquainted with Islām and Muhammadan Law (Fiqh). He wrote many papers on colonial policy, educational problems and other practical subjects, his style of writing being singularly lucid and captivating and in controversy occasionally caustic.

He was succeeded in 1927 by his pupil, Dr. A. J. Wensinck, who had been professor of Hebrew since 1912. The Concordance of Muhammadan tradition started by him is an international undertaking, financed by the Netherlands Government, and placed under the auspices of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences.

Another important work due to international co-operation is the *Encyclopædia of Islām* which was started under the editorship of Dr. M. Th. Houtsma, then Lector of Persian and Turkish at Leyden and afterwards Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht. It is printed by the printing firm E. J. Brill, and this is the case with most books produced by oriental scholars in the Netherlands.

I have spoken of Arabic studies at Leyden

at some length because, in this line of oriental research, our University has a record extending over three and a half centuries of which we have every reason to be proud. But I must restrict myself so as not to exceed the limits of this lecture. You will, I hope, allow me to omit certain departments of oriental studies without my wishing in the least to minimize their importance or the share which our professors have had in their advancement. I propose, therefore, to leave out Biblical studies and Hebrew, which of course from the beginning have been prominent at Leyden, as well as Egyptology and the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia. Let me only mention that Leyden possesses an institute for the archæology of the Near East and a very active society for Near Eastern studies which arranges for lectures by Dutch and foreign experts.

Leyden was the first university to found a chair for the history of religions. This happened in 1877, its first occupant being C. P. Tiele (1830-1902). His inaugural oration dealt with assyriology, but his favourite study was the Avesta. His *History of Religion*⁴ was translated into seven languages. Tiele's writings were much appreciated in Britain. From 1896 he was Gifford lecturer in the University of Edinburgh.

We have seen that the Arabic professors Erpenius and Golius were also familiar with Persian and Turkish. In 1659-60, as appears from the *Series Lectionum*, the latter lectured on "Rosarium Sadis"—i.e., Gulistān, the well-known work of Sādī. Persian was a language of great importance for the trade of the Dutch East India Company. In 1620 a factory was established at Gamron (Bandar Abbās), the well-known port at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. The place was notorious for its unhealthy climate and intolerable heat. Another factory was maintained at Isfahān which Shāh Abbās had made his capital on account of its good climate. On several occasions embassies from the Company were sent to Isfahān in order to obtain privileges for the trade. Ketelaar, deputed as ambassador in 1716, died at Gamron on his return journey in 1718.

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The Persian language had also a great significance for the Indian trade.

It is well known that the Dutch East India Company had numerous factories in India which formed an indispensable link in the extensive system of the Eastern trade. These factories may be divided into four groups belonging to Gujarāt, Bengal, Coromandel and Malabar. The chief factory was established at Surat on the mouth of the Tapti, then the principal port of the western coast.

The servants of the Company must have had a fair command of the spoken languages; in fact, such a practical knowledge was indispensable. But the Great Moguls, then the ruling Muslim dynasty of India, favoured Persian art and literature. Persian was the language of the Court and was used in official documents issued by the Emperor and his governors and ministers. For the correspondence with the court and the high officials, the chief of the Surat factory employed a clerk conversant with that language ("Persiaans schrijver"). He was not a Persian or Indian Muslim, but a Hindu. In the case of important letters from the Governor-General at Batavia to the Emperor at Delhi great care was taken that such a missive was couched in the correct form and in the flowery style required for such documents.

In 1662 Dirk van Adrichem, the chief of the Surat factory, was deputed to Delhi as ambassador of the East India Company.⁶ The object of this embassy was to congratulate the Emperor Aurangzeb on his accession which this monarch had achieved by imprisoning his father, Shāh Jahān. The journal of this embassy is highly interesting. Evidently the ambassador was a man of great ability. For this we have the testimony of François Bernier, the French physician at Aurangzeb's Court. In his official dealings with the wazir Fāzil Khān, when Persian was the language prescribed by Court etiquette, Van Adrichem employed an interpreter, as evidently he was not familiar with this language. But we find it stated in the journal that occasionally the Wazir addressed him secretly in Hindustani. When, by the end of

October, after having been detained at Delhi for nearly three months, the Ambassador paid his farewell visit to the Wazir and was received by him in his own house with great kindness and courtesy, Fāzil Khān decided that the whole conversation should be conducted in Hindustani. We may assume that Van Adrichem possessed a perfect command of this language enabling him to converse with the highest dignitary of the realm, who was, moreover, a scholar and a man of a refined literary taste.

The same was the case with Joan Josua Ketelaar, who fifty years later was deputed by the East India Company to Aurangzeb's successor, Bahādur Shāh. I must abstain from giving you an account of Ketelaar's adventurous journey from Surat to Lahore and back which took exactly two years (1711-13). Let me only mention that Ketelaar was the author of the first Hindustani grammar, a manuscript copy of which, dated Lucknow, 1698, is preserved in the State Record Office at the Hague.⁸ A Latin translation of this grammar by David Millius, professor at Utrecht, was published at Leyden in 1743. Ketelaar, notwithstanding his Dutch-sounding name, was a German by birth. It is all the more remarkable that he rose to such a high rank under the East India Company. The Company, it is true, employed many foreigners, especially Germans, but only in a subordinate position. Anyhow, the remarkable fact remains that the first grammar of Hindustani was written in Dutch.

The Directors of the Dutch East India Company certainly appreciated a knowledge of oriental languages in their employees. It is stated that one of the reasons which induced them to appoint Ketelaar as head of the embassy to the Great Mogul was his reputation of being an able linguist. They realized that linguistic ability was a desirable asset in dealing with orientals. This appreciation, however, was inspired by purely practical considerations and not by any genuine interest in scholarly research. This attitude we find reflected in the remarkable career of a linguist of extraordinary talent in the service of the Company.

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Herbert de Jager (1636-94) was a peasant's son from Zwammerdam, a village not far from Leyden. In 1657 he joined the Leyden University as a student of theology, being destined for the ministry in the East Indies. But under the influence of Golius, in whose house he lived, he abandoned theology and took up the study of oriental languages, combined with mathematics, botany and astronomy. In 1622 he sailed for Batavia, where he was employed as head clerk of the Secretariat on a monthly pay of f. 40. He was twice deputed to Persia, where a prolonged stay at Isfahān enabled him to become a great expert in Persian. De Jager was a good draughtsman, as is evident from two drawings he made of the famous ruins of Persepolis. These drawings were sent to the Royal Society of London by Nicolaas Witsen, the learned burgomaster of Amsterdam, who took a great interest in De Jager and his studies.⁷ Witsen writes in a letter that De Jager was unrivalled in oriental languages and conversant with almost all languages.⁸ This praise is somewhat exaggerated, but De Jager's linguistic attainments were certainly most remarkable. During his ten years' stay (1670-80) in Coromandel he studied Tamil and Telugu and must have occupied himself also with Sanskrit. This may be inferred from an interesting passage in a letter from De Jager to the famous botanist Rumphius, in which he observes that the High-Javane language consists for three-quarters of words borrowed from the Brahmanical and Malabar languages. In Dutch writings of the period Tamil is called "Malabaarsch." As regards the term "Brahmanical language," there can be little doubt that it was used by De Jager to designate Sanskrit.

De Jager had to pursue his linguistic studies in the midst of very exacting official duties, which even extended to military engineering. His linguistic talents were utilized in an embassy to the king of Golconda, whom De Jager had to compliment in Persian.

It is incredible that a man of so great and varied accomplishments had humbly to petition the Directors (his "Mæcenates,"

he calls them, as the Company had provided for his education at Leyden) for an increase in his miserable salary. In 1673 he was at last granted an advancement in rank and salary by Rijklof van Goens. This renowned admiral evidently recognized the great merits of De Jager, whom he praises also for his "affable intercourse with the Natives." It was in those days that the memorable siege of St. Thomé took place in which the Dutch assisted Golconda against the French, who had captured the place in 1672. On this occasion De Jager rendered good services as a military engineer. In 1677 he was deputed to Sivaji, the great leader of the Mahrathas, whom he met in the country of Bijapur. Unfortunately, no particulars of this deputation are available.

De Jager shared the fate of so many Europeans who went out to India. He never returned to his native country. The last period of his life was very sad. On his return to Batavia in 1687 he was asthmatic and weak. He developed a mental disease and died in poverty seven years later. His belongings, manuscripts and books were sold by public auction. His notes and papers were sent home and kept in the East India House at Amsterdam, but no one took an interest in them. Only his Malay paper finally reached the library of the British Museum through the agency of Sir Stamford Raffles.

We have seen that Herbert de Jager appears to have studied Sanskrit during his prolonged stay in India, but it is impossible to decide how far his knowledge of that language extended. It is well known that the study of Sanskrit in the West began towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1784 the Asiatic Society of Calcutta was founded by Sir William Jones, who five years later published his English translation of the Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa. It was this work which revealed the beauty of Sanskrit literature to the Western world. The study of Sanskrit was taken up in England, France and Germany, not only for the sake of its wonderful literature, but also on account of the great value of that language for comparative linguistic studies. In August, 1818, Wilhelm von Schlegel was

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appointed professor of Sanskrit in the newly founded University of Bonn. Franz Bopp, the great pioneer of Indo-European comparative grammar, became professor in Berlin in 1821. At Paris, Eugène Burnouf, the brilliant indologist, was attached to the Collège de France from 1832 till his death in 1852. Horace Hayman Wilson (1784-1860) was the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford.

Holland, I regret to say, has not entered this new field of research as quickly as might have been expected from its traditions in oriental studies. It was not until 1865 that a chair for Sanskrit was established at the University of Leyden. But this delay was largely remedied by the eminence of the man who occupied it. It was Hendrik Kern (1833-1917), an unrivalled master of linguistic studies, who was familiar with an incredible number of languages. He was not only thoroughly conversant with Sanskrit and Pali literature, but was also at home in the whole domain of Indo-European languages. Besides, his studies extended over Indonesian languages, and the comparative study of the Malay-Polynesian group was initiated by him as well as the investigation of Old-Javanese. His numerous publications do not exclusively relate to linguistics. He wrote a history of Buddhism (1882-84), which was translated into French and German. His *Manual of Buddhism* came out in 1896 in the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research. A Japanese version of it appeared in 1913.

In collaboration with the Japanese *savant* Bunyiu Nanjio he brought out an edition of the famous Buddhist text *Saddharmapundarika* (St. Petersburg, 1912), an English translation of which he had previously published in the *Sacred Books of the East* (vol. xxi). Another important Buddhist Sanskrit work was edited by him—viz., the *Jātakamālā* (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. i, 1890), a collection of thirty-four *jātakas* or “birth-stories” of a highly literary character. A complete edition of Kern’s miscellaneous works (*Verspreide Geschriften* with Register and Bibliography) in seventeen volumes, commenced on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, is divided into fifteen sections in accordance with the

various fields of research to which they refer. One of these sections deals with the Sanskrit and Old-Javanese inscriptions of the East Indian Archipelago; it comprises twenty-two articles.

Among Kern’s numerous pupils who continued his work let me only briefly mention J. S. Speyer, who succeeded him at Leyden in 1914, and did good work in Buddhist Sanskrit literature; W. Caland, professor of Sanskrit at Utrecht, who specialized in Vedic ritual; and the great linguist C. C. Uhlenbeck, professor of Sanskrit at Amsterdam.

Kern’s work in connection with Old-Javanese and Indo-Javanese epigraphy was carried on by his talented pupil Dr. J. L. A. Brandes (1857-1905), who initiated archaeological research on strictly scientific lines in Java. He published a sumptuous monograph on Chandi Djago, a Buddhist temple in Eastern Java (1904), which was praised by Dr. James Burgess, and another monograph on the temple of Panataran appeared as a posthumous work. The restorations effected by Brandes on some Indo-Javanese temples have been criticized. But this was not the case with the extensive work of preservation of the greatest monument of Java, the Barabudur, which was carried out under the able supervision of Lieut.-Colonel Th. van Erp in 1907-12.

From 1900 the Government of Netherlands India assumed full responsibility for the conservation and exploration of the ancient monuments in that country. This task was first entrusted to an Archaeological Commission for Java and Madura under the presidency of Dr. Brandes. But it was his successor, Dr. N. J. Krom, who organized the Archaeological Survey (Oudheidkundige Dienst), which extended its activities over the whole of Indonesia. This important department was instituted by a Government resolution of June 14, 1913. Dr. Krom was its first Director and was succeeded by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch. Both were alumni of the University of Leyden.

We are indebted to Dr. Krom for three works of outstanding value for the study of

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Indo-Javanese art and archæology. In 1920 he published his magnum opus on the Barabudur consisting of two portfolios of 442 magnificent plates in which the whole monument and its 1,500 sculptured panels are reproduced. The iconographical description by Krom was followed by an architectural account composed by Van Erp. An English translation, somewhat abbreviated, of the text appeared in 1927. Krom's two other standard works were his *Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art* (1920) and his *Hindu-Javanese History* (1926), both written in Dutch. In the year 1919 a chair for the archæology and ancient history of Netherlands India was created at Leyden and Dr. Krom was the first to occupy it until his death in 1945. The actual function of his professorate ended in 1941, when the University of Leyden was closed by the Germans. When it was reopened after the liberation of Holland, a worthy successor of Krom was found in Dr. Bosch, who had acquired an intimate knowledge of the ancient monuments of Indonesia during the twenty years (1916-36) he had been Director of the Archæological Survey.

Let me mention in this connection that in 1925 an institute for the study of Indian archæology in its widest sense was founded at Leyden. It was only natural that it was named after Kern, the great propagator of Indian studies in the Netherlands. The Kern Institute soon started the publication of an *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, fourteen volumes of which have so far appeared. The fifteenth volume, which is now in the course of preparation, will deal with the publications of the years 1940-47, when the editorial work was stopped by the war.⁹ The library of the Institute aims at completeness in archæology and allied subjects relating to greater India. The facilities offered by the Kern Institute have attracted several students of Indian and Indonesian archæology to Leyden. The Ethnological Museum, containing a valuable collection of Hindu-Javanese art, is another attraction. Two distinguished scholars, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, and Dr. S. Paranavitana, Archæological Commis-

sioner of Ceylon, are doctors of our University.

It now remains to consider what Leyden has done for linguistic and allied studies relating to the Far East.¹⁰ Those two marvellous scholars, Scaliger and Golius, whom we have mentioned in connection with early Arabic study at Leyden, were interested in Chinese. Their interest referred to the so-called "Catayan" system of chronology. Scaliger was the first to become acquainted with the Catayan twelve branches or duodecimal cycles. He owed his knowledge to a correspondence with Ignatius, the patriarch of Antioch, who had fled to Rome.

Golius obtained additional verbal information from Father Martino Martini, a learned Jesuit, whom he met at Leyden on the latter's passage from Amsterdam to Antwerp. This interview enabled Golius to establish the identity of Catay with China. He published the cycle of twelve in Chinese characters. It was the first instance of Chinese letters printed (from wood) in Holland and, we may add, of such characters properly printed in Europe. Martini presented Golius with several Chinese books and manuscripts which Golius added to the collection already in his possession. But these Chinese documents did not remain at Leyden: an important portion finally reached the Bodleian.

The Eastern trade brought Holland into immediate contact with the two great empires of the Far East. The commercial and cultural relations with Japan are of peculiar interest. Their initiation dates back to the year 1600 when the first Dutch ship arrived in Japan after a most disastrous voyage. It was the *Erasmus*, of Rotterdam, one of the five ships which, under the command of Jacques Mahu, had passed the Straits of Magellan on their way to India. The ship had only sixteen men left out of her crew of one hundred and eight.¹¹ A few years later a factory was established, the first chief being Jacques Specx.

It is well known that during the long period (1638-1854) when Japan was a closed country, the Netherlands were the only foreign nation allowed to trade. But they

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were strictly confined to their factory on the little island of Deshima near the port of Nagasaki. Once a year the chief of the factory had to travel to Yeddo, the present capital Tokio, in order to pay his respects to the Shogun. These embassies enabled the Dutch to learn a great deal about the people of Japan and this information is embodied in the works of Montanus and Valentyn.¹²

The regular study of Chinese and Japanese at Leyden did not begin until 1851, but its origin was indirectly an outcome of the earlier relations with Japan. It was due to the efforts of two eminent German scholars—Ph. F. B. von Siebold (1796-1866) and J. J. Hoffmann (1805-78). The former, a distinguished physician and botanist from Würzburg in Bavaria, was a man remarkable for his wide scientific interest, untiring energy and lofty ideals. Having been appointed surgeon-major in the Netherlands Indian army he was deputed to Deshima. During a stay of six years (1823-29) in Japan he made himself immensely popular by his medical practice, so that he was allowed to live in a country house outside Nagasaki, where he started a kind of private school and collections relating to botany, zoology, mineralogy and geology. In 1826 he accompanied the chief of the factory to Yeddo. Two years later it was discovered that he had imprudently acquired maps of the country which it was strictly forbidden even to show to foreigners. The result was that many of his Japanese friends and pupils were imprisoned. He himself, accused of high treason, was punished with a life-long exile and had to leave Japan by the end of 1829.

Fortunately, he had taken the precaution to send his collections to Leyden, where they became the nucleus of the Ethnographical Museum. It was the first institution of its kind. In 1830 Von Siebold settled at Leyden in a country house outside the town. He called it "Nippon," and the grounds he employed for the cultivation of Japanese plants. This unique garden with its beautiful chrysanthemums, peonies and lilies was a sight attracting many visitors from all parts of Europe. The visitors' album, which is pre-

served in the University Library, shows the names of numerous royal personages, scholars and artists. The first visitors mentioned in April, 1839, are the Czarevitch Alexander (later Alexander II) and his uncle, the Prince of Orange. The latter, who succeeded his father in 1840, took a lively interest in the far-reaching political projects of Dr. von Siebold which aimed at securing for Holland a leading part in the opening of Japan to European influence. But these plans, though inspired by the most generous motives, did not find favour with leading Dutch politicians. The opening of Japan was effected in 1854 and in the same year the verdict of Von Siebold's banishment was revoked. This enabled him to revisit the country to which he had devoted his life. But of this second stay in Japan (1860-63), which ended in bitter disappointment, we cannot speak in detail. Von Siebold died at Munich on October 18, 1866.

Johann Joseph Hoffmann, the other German scholar whom we have mentioned, was also born at Würzburg and it was this circumstance which brought him into contact with Von Siebold. The two men met accidentally in an inn at Antwerp in July, 1830, when Von Siebold was just returning to Holland after his expulsion from Japan. Hoffmann being a man of great artistic talent—a good draughtsman and singer—had an artist's career in view. But Von Siebold, with a rare insight, engaged his compatriot as an assistant in writing his *Nippon*,¹³ an extensive descriptive work embodying his wide knowledge of Japan. Hoffmann's chief task being the translation of Japanese text, he had to learn the language. But as he was the first person in Europe to make a proper study of Japanese, he had to start by acquainting himself with Chinese. In this he found an instructor in Ko-tsing-tsang, a Chinese from Batavia in Von Siebold's employment. Besides, he had a guide in Abel Rémusat's *Grammaire chinoise*. In this manner he succeeded in mastering both languages.

In 1846 Hoffmann was appointed Translator of Japanese in Government service on an annual salary of f. 1,800, and in the same year appeared his *Buddha-Pantheon*, a standard

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work on Japanese Buddhism, with forty lithographed plates prepared by the author. Five years later followed his appointment as professor of Chinese and Japanese. Thus these two important languages became included in the teaching of the Leyden University. Hoffmann's special task was the training of Chinese and Japanese interpreters in Government service. The knowledge of Chinese was, moreover, of great importance on account of the large number of Chinese settlers in Netherlands India. Hoffmann wrote numerous papers on a wide range of subjects. A work of outstanding merit was his Japanese grammar, published in Dutch and English at Leyden (1867). A German translation appeared in 1877 (Leyden, Brill). Hoffmann, according to the testimony of one of his pupils, "was one of the most modest and unpretending of scholars, an enemy of all ostentation; never boasting of his accomplishments, and always ready to put aside his own work in order to aid his disciples." He died at Leyden on January 19, 1878.

Hoffmann was succeeded in 1877 by one of his pupils, Dr. Gustaaf Schlegel, who for ten years had been Chinese interpreter at Batavia. He published numerous papers on the ancient geography, ethnology and epigraphy of China. His successor was J. J. M. de Groot, who assumed his professorate in 1904 after previously having been professor of ethnology.¹⁴ In 1912 he accepted a chair in the University of Berlin. Both Schlegel and De Groot taught exclusively Chinese, and after the latter's departure it proved difficult to find a sinologist to fill the chair thus left vacant.

After a vacancy of five years Dr. M. W. de Visser was appointed professor of Japanese and in 1919 followed the appointment of Dr. J. J. L. Duyvendak as lector of Chinese. In 1930 this lectorate was changed into a professorship. In the same year a Sinological Institute was founded under Dr. Duyvendak. This institute with its well-stocked library has amply proved its utility in the training of young sinologists who are now joining our University in a considerable number.

Dr. M. W. de Visser was a pupil of De Groot. For five years (1904-09) he was attached as interpreter to the Netherlands Embassy at Tokio. After his return he became conservator of the section China and Japan of the Leyden Museum of Ethnology.¹⁵ In this function he arranged and catalogued the valuable collection of Japanese colour-prints. At the same time he devoted himself to the study of Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist iconography. Several important monographs written by him bear testimony to his competence in this domain of studies. He assumed the chair of Japanese in 1917 and died in 1930. His successor was Dr. J. Rahder, who since 1946 is professor of Japanese in the Yale University.

Considering the great importance of Malay as the lingua franca of Indonesia, it is certainly astonishing that it was not recognized as a subject of academic study until 1877. In the seventeenth century, it is true, there existed some interest in that language at Leyden. The earliest Malay manuscripts now preserved at Leyden and Cambridge originate from Leyden orientalists who had acquired them through the agency of Amsterdam merchants. We know that Erpenius intended to write a book on the Muslim creed derived from Arabic, Turkish and Malay sources, but his early death in 1624 prevented him from carrying out his project. In 1665 Herbert de Jager addressed from Batavia a letter to the Directors of the East India Company saying that, if he were accommodated with some books and "pennies," he would be able in two years to perfect his knowledge of Malay in such a measure that it could be taught in the Academies side by side with the other oriental languages. "It would be no small stimulus," he added, "to have the glory of being the first to bring the Malay language to perfection." But his masters at home do not seem to have shared his enlightened enthusiasm.

The servants of the East India Company contented themselves with a practical knowledge of the spoken language. A more serious study of Malay was made by the ministers of

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the Protestant Church employed in the East Indies. One of them named G. H. Werndly, who was a Swiss, composed a textbook, *Maleise Boekzaal* (1736), a work of decided merit for the time when it was written. Malay Bible translations were started from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Best known is that of Leidekker (c. 1700) which still enjoys a high repute among the Christian population of Amboina.

The study of Javanese, the principal language of Java, did not commence until the nineteenth century. A Javanese grammar was published in 1833 and a dictionary in 1847. A Javanese translation of the New Testament was printed at Serampore in 1823. It was the first printed book in that language.

Both Malay and Javanese are important subjects for students intended for the Civil Service of Netherlands India. Originally there existed special institutes for the training of these civil officers, both in Delft and Leyden. In 1864 their education was centralized at Leyden and in 1876 entrusted to the University. In order to cope with its new function, the University Law of 1876 provided for professorships at Leyden for Malay and Javanese and a readership for Sundanese, the language of Western Java. Gradually the number of professors charged with the training of administrative and judicial officers for the East Indies rose to twelve. The new arrangement had great advantages. It enabled students reading either for an administrative or judicial career to profit by the instruction of the best authorities. In the knowledge of Islām they were initiated by Snouck Hurgronje, and in the customary law ("Adatrecht") of Indonesia by Van Vollenhoven. It was, however, not only the knowledge imparted by scholars of such eminence that made indological studies at Leyden invaluable. Still more inspiring was the liberal spirit which characterized their teaching. It was their conviction that it was a great task which Holland had been called to discharge in Indonesia, and that in the administration of that country it was the welfare of the indigenous population which ought to stand foremost. It would carry me

too far to enlarge upon this subject. Let me only state that several experts who have travelled in Indonesia have expressed their appreciation of our administrative system.¹⁶

It is well known that the Indian Civil Service throughout its distinguished existence has produced no small number of very able scholars who have done excellent work in archæology, ancient history and numismatics, linguistic studies and several other branches of research. The same is the case with our civilians in Indonesia. Let me mention only a few names: J. Knebel, a member of the Archæological Commission under Dr. Brandes; G. A. Wilken (1847-91), the great authority on Indonesian sociology and customary law, whose miscellaneous writings were published in four volumes in 1912. F. A. Liefcrinck (1853-1927) studied the ethnology and customary law of Bali and Lombok; Dr. Jacob Mallinckrodt that of Borneo. His doctor's thesis on this subject (Leyden, 1628) is a work of great merit. Many more names might be added.

Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels (1883-1938) was educated at Leyden for the Civil Service in Java, but the restrictions of an official career soon proved to disagree with his taste for a more active and adventurous career. While employed on a coffee estate on the slopes of the volcano Klut in Eastern Java, he became deeply interested in the language and legends of the indigenous population. He studied the *wayang* together with the illustrative reliefs on the ancient temples and applied his extensive knowledge of legendary lore to their interpretation. His talent in this domain induced Dr. Krom to secure his services for the Archæological Survey. At the age of thirty-eight, Callenfels joined the Leyden University anew for a three years' course of Hindu-Javanese and Indian archæology, at the end of which period he attained his doctorate (1924). After his return to the East Indies he devoted himself chiefly to prehistoric research. He not only became the great pioneer of these studies in Indonesia, but also brought about a fruitful collaboration with workers in the same field in Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines, China and Japan.

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Previous to his death, which occurred in a hospital at Colombo on his voyage home, he had himself become a legendary person owing to his imposing appearance—his gigantic and bearded figure and commanding voice—which made the villagers of Java and Sumatra look up to him as a being of super-human birth.

Let us now return to the study of Indonesian languages. Among the workers in this field of research H. N. van der Tuuk (1824-94) takes a very prominent place. Kern calls him the greatest authority on Indonesian languages and the founder of their comparative study. These two men of genius, so different in their temperament, character and career, were both instructed in Sanskrit by the Hebrew professor, Dr. Rutgers. At an early age Van der Tuuk went to London to study the Batak manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. He prepared two catalogues—one of the Malay MSS. in the East India House and the other of those belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1848 he was deputed to the interior of Sumatra by the Netherlands Bible Society to study the language of the Bataks. It was a task not only difficult but also perilous, as in those days the Bataks were still addicted to cannibalism. The dictionary, grammar and textbook of the Batak language composed by him bear testimony to his extraordinary linguistic insight. After entering Government service, he was the first to study the language of Bali, where a curious form of Hinduism has been preserved up to the present time. Van der Tuuk lived here for twenty years in close contact with the population, whose mode of life he adopted. He devoted himself entirely to his Kawi-Balinese¹⁷ Dictionary which was not yet completed at the time of his death. He died at the age of seventy in a military hospital at Surabaya. His books and manuscripts he bequeathed to the University Library of Leyden. Van der Tuuk was a man of a choleric temperament, unsociable, averse to religion and opposed to persons in authority. In his polemic writings he used to attack his opponents in a manner which was far from refined. At the same time he was

kind-hearted, amiable and generous; these good qualities made him popular with the people of Bali.

By the University Law of 1876 two new doctorates were instituted—one for Indonesian and the other for Semitic Letters. At the same time provision was made for the training of linguistic officers ("taalamtbenaren"), whose function may be compared with that of the Linguistic Survey of India intimately associated with the illustrious name of Sir George Grierson. Indonesia, like India, is a country where an incredible number of languages are spoken.¹⁸ Henceforward, the linguistic survey of Indonesia was systematically carried out by Government officers educated at Leyden. The curriculum prescribed for Indonesian Letters comprised a three years' reading of Arabic and Sanskrit, followed by the study of Malay, Javanese and other languages of the Archipelago. Ethnology and comparative linguistics were added later on. Each year a certain number of promising students were elected and provided with Government stipends. At the same time the Bible Society continued to participate in this useful work by arranging for the education of young men at Leyden in the interest of missionary work.

Among linguists of the latter class, Dr. N. Adriani deserves special mention. His field of action was Central Celebes, where he and his wife lived among the Toradjas and in a marvellous manner familiarized themselves with the language and character of that primitive tribe. Other eminent doctors of Indonesian letters were J. C. G. Jonker, who after studying on the spot the languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands, became professor of Javanese at Leyden, and G. A. J. Hazeu, who succeeded him in 1921, after a distinguished career in Java. Besides his doctor's thesis on the *wayang* (1897), the well-known shadow-show of Java, he wrote much on Javanese literature, linguistics, ethnology, also on questions relating to colonial policy. Owing to ill-health he resigned his professorate in 1928 and died by the end of 1929.

From the beginning of this century there has been a constant increase in the number

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of linguists employed either by the Government at Batavia or by the Bible Society. Several of them devoted themselves also to ethnographic research in different parts of Indonesia. Some were engaged in "Volks-lectuur," a Government institution initiated in 1909 to stimulate an interest in languages and literature among the people of Indonesia by the publication of novels, short stories and travels in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese, including translations from Dutch and French. Others were appointed as teachers at a school established at Solo for the education of young Javanese and other Indonesians with special regard to their national culture. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim was the first principal of this educational institution which owed its success largely to his enthusiasm and scholarship. He, too, was an alumnus of the Leyden University which conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Aryan Letters in 1924. His Doctor's thesis, written in German, dealt with Rāma legends and Rāma reliefs in Indonesia.

Aryan Letters was a form of philological studies, instituted in 1921, with the object of enabling students to devote themselves to the study of Sanskrit and allied subjects, including Avestan as well as Indian and Indo-Javanese archæology. It offered therefore a suitable curriculum to those who wished to join the Archæological Survey of Netherlands India. Stutterheim was the first to profit by the opportunity thus created; but several talented students, both Dutch and Indian, have followed his example. Four of them are still employed in archæological and educational work in Indonesia.

The steady progress of these scholarly labours was suddenly and violently stopped by the outbreak of the Japanese war in December, 1941. After the desperate battle in the Java Sea (February 27, 1942) the whole of Indonesia was soon overwhelmed. At that moment some thirty archæologists, ethnologists and linguists were engaged in educational, exploratory or missionary work. Several had to join the army. Nearly all of them were either imprisoned in concentration camps or compelled to work as coolies in

Burma or Japan. After their liberation in August, 1945, they were in a deplorable condition. It was only after a prolonged stay in Holland that they were able to resume their work. Seven succumbed in the war, in captivity or shortly after the liberation.

Among those whose death we deplore was Dr. Stutterheim who had succeeded Dr. Bosch as Director of Archæology in 1936. He died at Batavia in hospital in September, 1942. I wish also to mention two very able linguists, Dr. S. J. Esser, who had continued the work of Dr. Adriani in Central Celebes, and Dr. W. Kern, a grandson of the famous Leyden professor, who had survived three winters of hard labour on a ship-wharf at Nagasaki, and resumed his research work in Borneo, when he suddenly died at Bandjermasin in June, 1946.

At the moment several of our Leyden doctors are employed as professors in the newly founded University of Indonesia or as officers of the Archæological Survey, but under circumstances which are extremely difficult and depressing. They are exerting themselves to reorganize these institutions which are of so great cultural importance for the country, and their courage and perseverance deserve the greatest admiration. But they feel that they are building on quicksand as long as the political situation shows no stability.

What will be the future of research work in Indonesia? What will become of the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences which was founded in 1778 and can look back on a record of scientific research extending over more than one and a half centuries? What will become of the museum and the library of that Society which have marvellously escaped the tempest of the war? This, too, will depend entirely on political developments. The great question is whether the present struggle will end in the supremacy of a body of fanatics or in a rule inspired by moderation, tolerance and wisdom.

The research work, in its widest sense, which has been carried on in Indonesia was mainly the work of Dutch experts. This I may say without being guilty of national bias.

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We are all perfectly conscious of the excellent contributions made by many foreigners. Let me only mention the names of three eminent Britishers who were the great pioneers in various fields of research—William Marsden (1754-1836), who wrote a book on the people and languages of Sumatra; Sir Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), the Lieut.-Governor of Java during the British interregnum, whose *History of Java* (1817) shows his great interest in that island and its antiquities; his associate, John Crawfurd (1783-1868), the author of a *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820); and John Leyden (1775-1811), the poet and linguist, whose *Malay Annals* were published in 1821.

But it must be admitted that the number of Indonesians who have taken part in the archæological, ethnographical and linguistic exploration of their country is surprisingly

small. Some certainly deserve to be mentioned, such as Dr. Husain Djajaningrat, who studied at Leyden and received his doctor's degree in 1903. His thesis dealing with Javanese historiography is a work of great merit. He now occupies the office of Secretary-General of Education. We may perhaps expect that, when the United States of Indonesia has come into existence, talented Indonesians will be forthcoming in sufficient number to carry on the work of research.

The development of the political situation in South-east Asia will no doubt exercise its influence on oriental research in the West, and at the moment it is impossible to foretell whether the issue will be favourable or not. It is devoutly to be wished that the University of Leyden may be able to maintain the prominent position in oriental studies which it has held in the past.

REFERENCES

¹ Lecture delivered to the Society on Thursday, June 23, 1949. Professor C. H. Philips presided.

² At that time the average salary of a Leyden professor was f. 800.

³ An English translation of the second volume by Monahan appeared circa 1930.

⁴ *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst tot aan de heerschappij der wereldgodsdiensten.*

⁵ *Journal van Dirck van Adrichem's Hofreis naar den Groot-Mogel Aurangzeb, 1652, uitgegeven door A. J. Bernet Kemper (Werken Linschoten Vereeniging, Vol. XLV), 's-Gravenhage 1941.*

⁶ J. Ph. Vogel, *De eerste "grammatica" van het Hindoestansch* (Mededeelingen der Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, N.R., Vol. IV, No. 15), Amsterdam, 1941.

⁷ The drawings were published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, No. 210, May, 1694. A very fine drawing of Persepolis, prepared by the Dutch artist Philip Angel in 1651, was published by Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, Vol. V, Part I, p. 221, but wrongly attributed to Herbert de Jager.

⁸ "Het sijn al vele jaeren geleden, dat enen Herbert de Jager een boerenzoon uyt het veen of daer omtrent, die sijns gelijcken in die orientaelse taelen niet heeft gehadt, ja die genoegsaem alle taelen kundig was, aan mij heeft gesonden sijne aftekeningen van dit Persepolis." (Letter of Nicolaas Witsen to Gisbert Cuper, dated 1st January, 1713.)

⁹ Several issues of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS published during the war are still a-wanting in our library.

¹⁰ In dealing with this subject I am much indebted to the assistance rendered by Professors J. J. L. Duyvendak, C. C. Krieger, G. W. J. Drewes and Lector R. A. Kern. I also wish to record my obligation to Prof. J. H. Kramers with reference to my account of Arabic studies.

¹¹ The original name of the ship, which was

Erasmus, had been changed into *De Liefde* ("Charity") so as to make it harmonize with those of the other four ships of the squadron, which were *De Hoop* ("Hope"), *t Geloove* ("Faith"), etc. But she still bore the wooden image of the great humanist on her stern. This figure, measuring 40 inches in height, was seized by the Japanese and placed in a temple, where it was worshipped under the name of Kateki, presumably derived from the Portuguese *catechista* ("a missionary"). It is now preserved in the Tokio Museum.

¹² Arnoldus Montanus. *Gedenkwædige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maatschappij in't Verceen. Nederland, aan de Kaisaren van Japan.* Amsterdam, 1669. François Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Vol. V, book 9, pp. 1-166.

¹³ *Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, Leyden, 1832-'52. Reprinted in 1930.

¹⁴ De Groot's principal work is *The religious system of China, its ancient forms, evolution, history, and present aspect, manners, customs, and social institutions connected therewith.* Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1892-97 and 1901-10.

¹⁵ The Institute issues a series called *Sinica Leidensia*.

¹⁶ Clive Day: *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java*, New York, 1904. J. Chailley. Bert, *Java et ses habitants*, Paris, 1914. J. S. Furnivall: *Netherlands India. A Study of Plural Economy*, Cambridge, 1939, and *Colonial Policy and Practice*, Cambridge, 1948. Charles Robequain: *Le Monde malais*, Paris, 1946. Cf. Rabindranath Tagore, "Letters from Java," *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. V, p. 327; VI, p. 7, 169 f.; VI, p. 375.

¹⁷ Kawi (from Sanskrit *kavya*) was first used to designate Old-Javanese.

¹⁸ The late Dr. S. J. Esser estimated the number of languages of Indonesia, including those of New Guinea, at two hundred. But this estimate is probably too low. In some parts of Indonesia the languages have not yet been properly studied.

NOTES ON SEAFARING IN ANCIENT INDIA

By A. L. BASHAM

LAST year, at Vizagapatam, was launched the S.S. *Jaloshā* (freely translated "Dawn at Sea"), the first modern seagoing merchant ship to be built in India. The ceremony, which was performed by Paṇḍit Nehru himself, was accompanied by auspicious mantras recited by Brāhmans (a coconut taking the place of the Western bottle of champagne). The Indian press, in commenting on the event, made much of the ancient maritime activity of the country, which had dwindled away since the days of the Muslim invasion, and had almost vanished under the British Rāj.

This review of the maritime activity of pre-Muslim India is inspired by the revival of Indian interest in the sea, and is an attempt to arrive at an objective estimate of the extent and development of that activity. Its three sections give:

- (1) The chief sources, and a brief outline of some of their contents;
- (2) Some notes on Ancient Indian ship construction and seamanship; and
- (3) Notes on the growth of the religious objection to travel by sea.

The commercial relations of Ancient India with Babylon, Greece and Rome have been studied by Kennedy, Rawlinson and Warmington,¹ and will not be treated here.

INDIAN MARITIME ACTIVITY

The only monograph on the subject known to me is that by Professor R. K. Mookerji.² This contains a survey of all the material available at the date of publication, handled with an affectionate enthusiasm which tends to be uncritical. P. C. Chakravarti's article "Naval Warfare in Ancient India"³ contains little information not to be found in Mookerji's work. Several other works on Ancient Indian history give brief outlines of the

subject, notably Atindranath Bose's *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*.⁴

The earliest of our original sources is the *R̥gveda*, nearly all of which was probably composed by 1000 B.C. Some doubt exists as to the meaning of the word *Samudra* in the Vedic hymns; in later Sanskrit it certainly meant the ocean, but in many Vedic passages the word apparently implies the lower course of the Indus.⁵ Yet in a few passages at any rate it seems clearly to refer to the sea.

The first of these⁶ is of interest if only because it is perhaps the only reference in Indian literature to the pleasant aspect of sailing the seas. The seer Vasiṣṭha is singing the praises of the god Varuṇa.

"When Varuṇa and I embark together
and urge our boat into the midst of
the ocean,

We, when we ride o'er the ridges of the
waters, will swing with their swing
and will be contented.

Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha in a vessel, and
deftly with his might made him a ṛṣi.

When days shone bright the sage made
him a singer, while the heavens
broadened and the dawns were lengthened."

The second reference⁷ is obscure, but very significant. A ṛṣi (seer), Tugra, sent his son Bhujyu against his enemies. Bhujyu was defeated, but rescued by the divine twins, the Aśvins, apparently by sea.

"Ye wrought that hero exploit in the
ocean which giveth no support, nor
hold, nor station,

What time ye carried Bhujyu to his
dwelling, borne in a ship with hundred
oars, O Aśvins."

Even allowing for some exaggeration, this verse seems to indicate that the Vedic

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Indians knew of quite large ships. It should be noted that, at least 700 years after the composition of this hymn, the Xathroi, a tribe dwelling in the Panjāb, where the hymn was probably composed, supplied Alexander with thirty-oared galleys to convey his troops down the Indus.⁸

The Pāli scriptures of the Hinayāna Buddhists are perhaps the most valuable of our sources. These did not receive their final recension until the fifth century A.D. but they contain much earlier material. Among them are the Jātakas, a large collection of folk tales, rather artificially invested with an air of sanctity by their being related to the previous births of the Buddha; these give a very vivid picture of conditions in North India, especially in Bihār and Oudh, perhaps during the first five centuries before Christ. Unfortunately it is impossible more accurately to determine a date for the conditions they describe.

Here, and elsewhere in the Pāli Scriptures, we find a vigorous seafaring community sailing on voyages of six months' duration.⁹ The sailors took trained birds with them to guide them to land,¹⁰ a custom the existence of which is confirmed by Pliny and Cosmas Indicopleustes, a geographer of the sixth century A.D. They steered by the stars and by watching birds in flight. Their vessels were large; some had three masts,¹¹ and conveyed many passengers. The figures given are almost certainly exaggerated, but are nevertheless significant. One story¹² tells of the whole population of a village, 1,000 souls in all, sailing down the Ganges in a single vessel, and settling on an island in the sea. Another¹³ describes 700 merchants, who sailed from Bharukaccha (Broach) in one vessel, under the guidance of a blind pilot. Pilots were organized in guilds, under a *jetthaka* or elder,¹⁴ and at Bharukaccha, according to the *Periplus*,¹⁵ were in the King's service.

These texts show a fairly wide geographical knowledge.

Ceylon is well known, and there are legends of its invasion and conquest (the

most famous, of course, being the theme of the great Hindu epic, the Rāmāyana). Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma or Malaya) is also in the picture, as a land to which penniless adventurers sail in order to get rich quickly.¹⁶ There is one reference to a trading voyage between Bharukaccha and Bāveru, which is certainly Babylon.¹⁷

In the semi-canonical *Milinda Pañha*, probably composed in the first or second centuries of the Christian era, is a passing reference which shows even wider geographical knowledge.¹⁸ "A shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vaṅga (Bengal), Takkola (the Isthmus of Krā), China, Sovira (Kāthiāwār), Suratttha (Gujarāt), Alasanda (Alexandria), Colapaṭṭanam (Coromandel), or Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma)."

In the Pāli texts, as elsewhere in Ancient Indian literature, the sea was beset with dangers. It contained *makaras*, leviathans able to swallow whole ships.¹⁹ Evil spirits dwelt in mysterious islands and whipped up storms. Shipwreck was a constant danger. When disaster was imminent seafarers ate all the sugar and ghee they could digest, and covered their bodies and garments with oil²⁰—both precautions very sound physiologically, and indicative of a long period of trial and error. The goddess Maṇimekhalā was specially appointed by the thirty-three great Gods for the rescue of shipwrecked sailors of good character. She left the sinners to drown.²¹ In Tamil literature the Goddess also appears, as the instrument of divine justice on the city of Kāvīrpaṭṭanam or Puhār, whose inhabitants neglected their sacrifices; the angry goddess overwhelmed the great port in a tidal wave.²² Beneath the surface of the sea were wonderful jewelled palaces inhabited by nereids. The sea was full of riches, wonders and mysteries. But its perils were even more impressive than its wonders.

The literature of law, morals and human conduct (Dharma- and Artha-śāstras) contains several important references. Notable

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among these is that in the secular *Arthaśāstra*. This, like many other Indian works, is probably a compilation containing material from several centuries, but it is traditionally associated with Kauṭilya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya (c. 324-300 B.C.). Like the authors of the Pāli scriptures, Kauṭilya seems more impressed by the dangers and hardships of seafaring than by its fascination and excitement. Whenever possible, a land journey is to be preferred to one by sea, because the latter is fraught with many more dangers and delays. River voyages are tolerable—their hardships can be put up with. But if a sea voyage must be made, let it be a coastal one, because there are ports near at hand.²³

Among the royal officials the author of the *Arthaśāstra* numbers the *Nāvādhyakṣa*, or superintendent of shipping.²⁴ Much of his time seems to have been devoted to the supervision of river traffic and of ferries, and minute rules are laid down for the management of the latter. But he was also concerned with maritime affairs. He was responsible for the supervision of all incoming and outgoing shipping, the repression of pirates, and the prevention of ships sailing to hostile ports. He collected customs and harbour dues, and the tax on fishermen, which was levied in kind and consisted of one-sixth of their haul. Among his duties was the care of shipwrecked mariners, and of vessels damaged by storm. Where merchandise was injured by sea-water he was authorized to remit dues and taxes on it.

The same source speaks of state-owned vessels, which were let out to conch and pearl fishers, and to merchants. These royal ships also conveyed passengers, who were to pay the customary fare. Merchandise was also carried on the king's ships; if it suffered damage owing to the ill-repair of the vessel the king was expected to make good the loss. This statement of the *Arthaśāstra* is strikingly confirmed by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos to Candragupta, who stated that the Indian shipbuilders were salaried public servants,

and that ships built in the royal yards were hired to voyagers and merchants.²⁵ We learn from the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang that, 900 years later, Bhāskara-varman, King of Assam, owned 30,000 ships;²⁶ it is hardly probable that these were all reserved for royal or official use and we may presume that every vessel in the land was, at least theoretically, the king's property.

The *Dharmaśāstras* give further information. Manu lays down the collective responsibility of the crew for the ship and its contents. "Whatever may be damaged in a ship by the fault of the sailors shall be made good by the sailors collectively. In lawsuits brought by passengers this rule only holds good in case of negligence. The crew has no responsibility for damage caused by Acts of God."²⁷ The *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, later than Manu, gives a striking indication both of the uncertainty and the profitability of maritime trade. It declares that a moneylender may charge as much as 20 per cent. interest per mensem on advances made for trading voyages.²⁸ In the matter of fares and freight charges, Manu declares that for river traffic and ferries customary charges shall have the force of law, but that for seaborne passengers or merchandise a shipmaster may charge whatever fare or freight charge he can obtain.²⁹

The Tamil anthologies, which probably date from the early centuries of the Christian era, give numerous maritime references. Young sailors go on long shark-fishing expeditions.³⁰ Busy ports are described. At Kāvīrīpaṭṭanam large ships can enter the harbour without shortening sail or lightening their load, and coolies discharge their freight into the middle of the street.³¹ The passage indicates the existence of artificial docks and harbour works, for Kāvīrīpaṭṭanam, at the mouth of the River Kāvīrī, is now completely silted up, and the port could only have been kept open to large ships by constant dredging. The Malabar port of Mujiri (Musiris of Ptolemy) is also described. Here "the

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large and beautiful ships of the Yavanas (strictly Ionians, or Greeks, but loosely used for any Westerner) disturb the white foam, bringing gold and taking pepper."³² Lighthouses or beacons were used in South Indian ports—"Lights set for the fishermen who hunt for fat fish, to remove the darkness of the black sea."³³

A number of Greek and Latin texts, approximately contemporary with these Tamil poems, considerably add to our knowledge. Very important are two geographical texts, the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* of the first, and Ptolemy's *Geography* of the second century A.D. Other valuable references are to be found in Pliny, Strabo and elsewhere.

The *Periplus* declares that Indian vessels sailed as far as the Red Sea. Socotra, called by the Greeks Dioskorida, had a mixed population of Greeks, Arabs and Indians.³⁴ The Indian connection with Socotra continued as late as the days of Marco Polo, who states that the island was a centre to which Indian pirates brought their loot for disposal.³⁵ The Sanskrit etymology of the name of this island was first suggested by Von Bohlen in the middle of the last century, and now seems widely accepted.³⁶ The presence of Indian merchants in Alexandria is attested by Dion Chrysostom,³⁷ and a remarkable epigraphic record of their presence in Egypt has been found in the temple of Redesie, on the trade route from the Red Sea port of Berenike to Edfu on the Nile. In this inscription "Sophôn the Indian" records his homage to Pan, the favourable hearer of prayer. Sophôn is probably the Greek corruption of some such Indian name as Subhūti.³⁸ That vigorous commercial relations existed between South India and the West in the early years of the Christian era has been made doubly clear by the excavation of what seems to have been a Roman trading station at Arikamedu, near Pondicherry.³⁹ Classical sources record several Indian embassies to Rome, from the reign of Augustus onwards.⁴⁰

Turning to the East, we find there also a

widening of the horizon. The Liang Annals, of the mid-seventh century, state that Indian embassies reached China overland in the reign of the Emperor Ho (89-105). Others followed by sea in the reign of Huang Ti (147-167), but relations ceased in the time of Wei (220-264).⁴¹ They were certainly resumed later.

By this time Indian commercial and missionary activity in Indonesia must have been in full swing. The study of the gradual penetration of elements of Indian culture into Indonesia and Further India and the history of the great Hinduized kingdoms of South-east Asia is beyond the scope of this paper. The results of the most recent developments in research are contained in the latest work of the great French authority, Dr. Coedès.⁴²

Some centuries after the embassies above mentioned we hear of Hindus settled in China. A Japanese text of the mid-eighth century, an account of Canton by the Chinese priest Kien-chen, states that there were three monasteries of Po-lo-men or Brāhmans in that city, and that heavily laden merchantmen from India, Persia, and Malaya regularly visited the port.⁴³

The two Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang, of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively, give valuable information. Fa Hien gives a vivid description of his perilous return voyage from Ceylon to China. He speaks of a vessel carrying about 200 persons and towing a smaller boat at its stern, which, among other things, served as a lifeboat.⁴⁴ Both travellers were impressed by the prevalence of piracy.

Various later Sanskrit works of fiction contain marine episodes. Daṇḍin's *Datukumāra-carita* tells of several shipwrecks, and of exiled princes who went abroad to make their fortunes. One went to Kāla-yavana-dvīpa, the island of the black Greeks, and married a native lady.⁴⁵ This island is probably Zanzibar, which was frequented by Indian ships in the days of Marco Polo.

The same text also describes a seaborne invasion, and contains an exciting account

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of a sea fight between a Yavana ship and pirates from Tāmrālipti, in the bay of Bengal. The pirates had a small fleet consisting of one large vessel and several smaller boats, which swarmed round their intended victim like dogs round a boar.⁴⁶ The fleet was equipped and captained by the Prince of Tāmrālipti. That royal support for piratical expeditions was no rare thing is quite clear from the reports of Ibn Batūta, the Arab traveller of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Probably the great pirate fleets referred to by Marco Polo were similarly equipped by Indian princes.

Several stories of shipwreck, sea-magic, and sea-monsters are to be found in the great compendium of stories, the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, which was compiled in the eleventh century.⁴⁸ They show considerable knowledge of Indonesian geography, and give evidence that even at this late date it was possible not only for merchants but also for Brāhmins to travel by sea without losing caste.

The Arab travellers Sulaimān, Albīrūnī, and Ibn Battūta were particularly impressed by the piracy which took place in Indian waters. Even in the days of the Roman Empire it was widespread, but by the mediæval period it seems to have increased to very dangerous proportions. Great pirate fleets of vessels called *bīra* swept the seas from Zanzibar to Socotra.⁴⁹ The crews took their wives and families on board.⁵⁰ Arab traders would carry as many as fifty soldiers for protection.⁵¹

Reliable records of naval warfare during the Hindu period are rare. A few epigraphic references, however, indicate that, in the later Hindu period, at least one or two ambitious kings were not ignorant of the value of sea-power. For instance, the Cālukya king, Pulakeśin II (c. 609-642), besieged Purī, the capital of the Maurya kingdom of Konkan, by sea. "His ships in their hundreds were like elephants mad with passion."⁵²

The great Cola emperor Rājārāja I (c. 985-1014) and his successor Rājendra I (c. 1014-1044) seem to have carried out a

deliberate policy of naval conquest.⁵³ Rājārāja crossed to Ceylon, landed a great army, and destroyed the capital, Anurādhapura. He also claimed to have conquered 12,000 islands of the sea. A Cola mission was sent to China in 1015, and later Cola monarchs also sent missions. The newly anointed Cola Emperor, Rājendra, completed the conquest of Ceylon and later carried war into Malaya. He claims to have captured Kadhāram (Kedah), Śrīvijaya (Palembang), Mānakkavaram (the Nicobar Islands), Malaiyur (S. Sumātra), Pannai (E. Sumātra), Māppappāla (S. Burma) and other places. Professor Nilakantha Śāstrī suggests that this great expedition was undertaken to keep open the trade route to China, which was threatened by the Indonesian kingdom of Śrīvijaya. The campaign indicates that the emperor, and his predecessor pursued a positive naval policy, and must have involved the equipping of a fleet of considerable size. There seems to have been no attempt to maintain a tight hold on the Cola conquest, however; at the most, periodic tribute may have been paid for a few years.

With the exception of a few semi-legendary, legendary, and fictional accounts the above are the only references to Ancient Indian naval expeditions of any importance. The Hindu monarch was rarely averse to enlarging his territory at the expense of his neighbours, and looked upon war as a normal instrument of policy. There is evidence that he built ships on a large scale and equipped trading and piratical expeditions. No doubt these royal vessels were used for conveying troops in time of war. Yet, with the possible exception of the two Cola kings mentioned above, no Indian monarch of the Hindu period seems to have appreciated the value of sea-power as an aid to conquest and expansion. There is no reliable evidence that any Indian kingdom, except perhaps that of the Colas of the Coromandel coast, maintained a permanent war fleet, if the term is to be given anything approaching its modern sense.

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NOTES ON SEAFARING IN ANCIENT INDIA

ANCIENT INDIAN SHIPBUILDING AND MARITIME TECHNIQUES

The one surviving native record is the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* ("The Wishing Tree of Useful Arts"), a small compendium of practical knowledge useful to kings, based on an earlier compilation by Bhoja, the eleventh-century Paramāra King of Mālwā. It contains chapters on the construction and selection of such things as thrones, carriages and sunshades, and includes a singularly disappointing chapter on ships, which follows those on carts and litters, under the heading "Footless Vehicles."⁵⁴ The style is very terse and the interpretation often very doubtful. No translation is available, but the chapter on ships has been paraphrased by Professor Mookerji.⁵⁵

The tone of the chapter is set by its opening verse, "Travel on horseback is appropriate to the land only; on water the boat is the vehicle for efficient locomotion." After this platitude follow a number of astrological instructions; then the author declares that ships should be built of wood of the Kṣatttriya class—i.e., light and hard. By no means may two classes of wood be used in the construction of a ship. The author, quoting Bhoja, declares against the use of nailed or riveted timbers, at least in seagoing vessels, "for the iron will be attracted by lodestone and the ship will sink in the water. Bhoja has declared in favour of rope joints." It is clear from this passage that nailed vessels were known to the Indians, although the prevalence of "sewn" or lashed timbers in Indian ships is attested by Sulaimān⁵⁶ and Ibn Battūta.⁵⁷ The latter writes that "the Indian Ocean is full of reefs and if a ship is nailed with iron nails it breaks up on striking the rocks, whereas if it is sewn together it is given a certain resilience and does not fall to pieces." A badly constructed wooden ship will suffer great damage from a comparatively slight scrape on a submerged rock. Probably Indian seamen falsely attributed magnetic properties to nearly all such reefs, and the imaginary danger against which the author of the *Yukti-*

kalpa-taru warned his readers was a false interpretation of a very real peril.⁵⁸

Earlier literature, as has already been mentioned, contains various references to very large ships indeed, but it is doubtful if any great significance can be found in the Jātaka stories of ships measuring 800 cubits and carrying 1,000 people on board. The *Yukti-kalpa-taru* is little more helpful. It does, admittedly, give a list of some two dozen types of vessel, classified according to size and type, with measurements of length, breadth and depth. But these measurements are obviously theoretical, and are expressed obscurely, employing as a unit the *rājahasta*, which cannot satisfactorily be reduced to feet. According to Professor Mookerji the *rājahasta* was 16 times the ordinary *hasta* or cubit—i.e., 24 ft. On this interpretation the largest vessel of the river-going type would measure 180 by 90 by 90 ft., while of seagoing ships the largest would measure 264 by 33 by 26½ ft., which seems far too long, and far too narrow of beam in proportion to its length. Professor Mookerji, however, apparently finds nothing exceptional in these dimensions, and quotes the mediæval Italian traveller, Niccolò Conti, who stated that some Indian ships were larger than those of Europe.⁵⁹ To me the passage as interpreted by Professor Mookerji is unbelievable, but I can offer no better interpretation, and can only suggest that the author of the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* had little first-hand knowledge of ships.

Hints as to the real size of Indian vessels may be obtained elsewhere. Pliny more soberly reports that South Indian vessels measured 3,000 amphoræ, or approximately 75 tons.⁶⁰ Fa Hien's ship with 200 people aboard is more credible than the Jātaka vessel carrying 1,000.

The rest of the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* contains little information of value. The author devotes some space to the fitting out of ships and prescribes emblems appropriate to figureheads and devices for pennants. Ships, he says, should be richly decorated and painted, and set with precious stones and gold. In this connection he speaks of

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four-masted vessels, whereas the largest ships mentioned by the Jātakas were three-masters. He describes cabins or deck houses, which may run the whole length of the ship, making it a sort of barge. Such vessels are recommended for the conveyance of treasure, horses and the ladies of the harem. Pleasure boats, or boats used for travel in the rainy season, should have their cabins amidships, while those used in the dry season, for long voyages, or for war, should have their cabins in the fore.

The Sanskrit lexicons give the names of two members of the crew of a Hindu vessel. The *Karṇadhara* holds the great oar (*Karṇa*, literally ear) in the stern and steers the vessel. The rudder was apparently unknown. The *Niyāmaka* or pilot stands amidships and guides the ship, looking out for dangerous monsters, etc.⁶¹

Sulaimān⁶² tells how ships were provisioned on long voyages. "Pious men under the influence of their religion go to the islands which rise from the sea and plant coconuts. They dig wells in these islands . . . and when ships pass they provide them with water," and presumably with coconuts also. The pious men may have been Buddhists, with whom care for travellers was a religious duty, and who by the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. were becoming unpopular in many parts of India.

It has been suggested that the Hindus knew the mariner's compass.⁶³ The evidence adduced is: (i) the Marāṭhī word for compass, *macch yantra*, "fish-machine," which is borrowed from the Sanskrit; (ii) a statement in an Arabic manual of mineralogy dated 1252 that Indian seamen steered by an iron fish, floating in a bowl of oil; and (iii) a reference in Jacques de Vitry's History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (c. A.D. 1218), which states that the compass was used in India.

On the other hand, there is no certain reference to the use of the compass at sea in any Sanskrit work of the Hindu period. Marco Polo is silent about its use in India,

and Niccolo Conti⁶⁴ notes that Indians never used it. This negative evidence seems to point against its regular use during the period, although it may have been employed sporadically towards the end, as a result of Indian contact with China.

It might be expected that valuable information on the size and structure of Ancient Indian ships could be obtained from contemporary sculpture and painting; but pictorial or plastic records are surprisingly scant. Professor Mookerji, in choosing illustrations for his work, has had to include pictures of pleasure boats and small rowing boats obviously not intended for seagoing traffic. And his most valuable illustrations do not come from India at all, but from the friezes of the great temple of Borobodur in Java.

The most striking of his illustrations from Indian sources⁶⁵ is that of a three-masted vessel, with three sails and a flying jib. It has two steering oars, apparently joined to work together with some sort of a tiller; the one steering oar which is fully visible is fitted into what seems a well-constructed rowlock. The vessel has an awning or penthouse in the stern, containing pots, presumably holding the ship's water supply. The proportions of the picture are not certainly accurate, but if we allow the highest point of the tiller to be some 5 ft. above the deck, the length of this ship from bow to stern cannot have been more than 25 ft.

The six illustrations from Borobodur are⁶⁶ rashly entitled by Professor Mookerji "Indian Adventurers Sailing out to Colonize Java." I see no reason why they should depict Indian adventurers—the kingdom of Śrīvijaya had ships of its own. But Professor Mookerji is almost certainly correct in suggesting that the ships here depicted resemble those used in India.

The first reproduction shows a two-masted ship with outrigger and flying jib, containing eleven men, with a twelfth in the water at the stern apparently making some adjustment to the fabric of the ship. The vessel has a deck, and a strange trapezoid object amidships which may be a deck-

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house. Its steering arrangements are obscure. The outrigger appears to be fastened with rope to the body of the ship. A strange circular object mounted on a pedestal in the stern is said by Professor Mookerji to be a compass; he does not appear to notice the fact that another such object is mounted at the very extremity of the bowsprit—a very inconvenient position for the ship's compass. Probably the circular objects, which are also depicted in some of the other illustrations, are fore and aft lights. A bearded figure in the stern, with his arm outstretched in command, is probably the captain.

The second Borobodur illustration shows a smaller single-masted vessel with peculiar pillar-like erections fore and aft. It contains six sailors, and a seventh is being rescued by a shipmate from the jaws of a *makara*.

The third resembles the first but gives the impression of larger size. It contains fourteen people, among them a woman and child, and a fifteenth in the sea at the stern of the vessel. As in the first illustration, a figure is crawling along the bowsprit towards the circular object at its tip; and he is watched by a number of sailors, who appear to be conducting a religious ceremony of some sort in the bow, while the bearded and garlanded figure in the stern apparently gives orders. The vessel seems to be meeting heavy weather.

The fourth is single-masted, similar to the second, with no outrigger. It contains thirteen sailors, again including one whose beard contrasts with the clean-shaven chins of the others and who is probably the captain. Most of the crew, who seem to be uncomfortably crowded, are busily shortening sail, but two are fishing with a line.

The fifth illustration apparently represents a collision at sea. A larger vessel, of the first type, containing eleven sailors, has been driven by a strong following wind hard on to a smaller boat of the second type, containing five sailors. The latter are apparently in imminent danger of drowning. One raises his hands in despair,

another futilely attempts to push the boat clear of the larger vessel; two avert their heads, as though they dare not behold the inevitable catastrophe. On the larger ship the sailors are busy. One crawls out along the bowsprit (which again bears the mysterious circular object), perhaps to extricate the flying jib, which has fouled the sail of the smaller boat. Others climb the masts to take in sail. One clings to the outrigger, apparently to steady the ship—this is evidence that the vessel must be of quite small size, otherwise the weight of a single man would have no appreciable effect on its balance. The bearded captain remains in the stern under an awning.

The sixth picture is of a ship of the outrigger type but with only one sail. It has made port, and its crew of five are busy furling sail. The steering mechanism of this vessel is quite evidently a large oar.

THE RELIGIOUS OBJECTION TO SEA TRAVEL

During most of the Hindu period Indians of all castes were making sea voyages and settling overseas. At the same time it is evident that there existed among religious purists a strong feeling that such voyages should not be undertaken, at least by members of the higher castes.

Early Dharmasūtras, such as those of Vasiṣṭha⁶⁷ and Āpastamba,⁶⁸ declare that intercourse with barbarians should be avoided. The Sūtra of Baudhāyana, which dates from before the Christian era, and in part must be very early, quite explicitly bans travel by sea.⁶⁹ The offence involves grave ritual impurity and the penance laid down is severe—the offender must eat only a little food at every fourth meal, he must bathe every morning, noon and night, and he must pass the days standing and the nights sitting. Only after three years of this austere régime does he lose his guilt. This text was interpreted by later commentators as applying to Brāhmins only, and this is probably its intention.⁷⁰ It is to be noted that Baudhāyana excepted Northern Indians from its provisions. The

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Brāhmanas of the North had habitually followed certain practices which were reprehensible according to the customs of those of the South. Of these practices Baudhāyana names five, including going to sea, and adds that "for each of these customs the rule of the country is the authority."

Manu,⁷¹ whose Dharmaśāstra was probably compiled in the first or second century of the Christian era, is somewhat less strict. He gives a long list of Brāhmanas who should not be invited to religious feasts and are not fit to carry out their religious functions. These include those who undertake voyages by sea, among a motley company of gamblers, usurers, people with dirty teeth, actors, drunkards, consumptives, epileptics and agents provocateurs.

The religious basis of this objection to foreign travel is twofold. The danger of the traveller's religious beliefs being corrupted by non-Hindu influences is obvious. But in visiting the lands of the Mlecchas the Brāhman would also find it very difficult to keep the complicated laws of ritual purity laid down by the lawbooks. And even if, arrived at his destination, he succeeded in holding himself aloof from every foreigner, cooking his own food, and drawing his own water, the maintenance of complete purity on a long sea-voyage would be quite impossible.

The *Nārada Śāstra*, perhaps of the fifth century A.D., declares that a seagoing merchant is not a reliable witness in a court of law and that his statements should not be accepted as evidence.⁷² The bad reputation in which the Indian merchant resident abroad was held is confirmed by Dion Chrysostom,⁷³ who stated that the Indian merchants whom he met in Alexandria were not held in repute by their countrymen.

Despite these bans it is evident from the examples already quoted that Indians of all castes, including Brāhmanas, frequently travelled by sea during the Hindu period. The texts which forbade or discouraged ocean voyages cannot have been followed by more than a small section of the population.

The later jurists tried to weld into a consistent order the various and conflicting laws, which were very ancient in their own day and which in many cases were not closely adhered to. Vijñānesvara, in the late eleventh century, quotes Baudhāyana and Manu with approval⁷⁴—the seagoing Brāhman committed a great sin, and was not to be invited to religious feasts and ceremonies. Two hundred years later, Hemādri, in the great law digest *Caturvarga-cintāmani*,⁷⁵ makes the position quite clear. Travel by sea is *kalivarjya*, an act permissible in the past, but not to be allowed in this degenerate *kali* age. Hemādri gives a very significant list of these *kalivarjyas*, practices once permissible but now reprehensible; it includes such customs as horse, cow and human sacrifice, widow remarriage, and hypergamy, as well as voyaging by sea. The law applies to all the "twiceborn" (*dvija*)—a term originally denoting members of the three higher caste groups, but probably intended by Hemādri to apply only to Brāhmanas. It is made quite clear that, even though the offender may by penance regain his ritual purity, his caste privileges can never be restored, and he is cut off forever from his family and friends.

The workings of this rule can be seen in the *Bombay Gazetteer's* account of the maritime castes of Western India at the end of the last century. The social status of these castes seems to have sunk very considerably in the course of centuries, and they appear to preserve many ancient customs of the type which Hemādri classified as *kalivarjya*. We find various Konkani castes of fishermen, apparently just within the pale, but very low in the social scale. Some employ Brāhmanas to perform their family rites, while others do not. They are addicted to liquor; all eat fish and some eat meat also. Marriage customs among the Son Kolis are reminiscent of those of Vedic times. Their sons marry at the late age of 25, and their daughters at 18, several years past puberty; and their widows remarry.⁷⁶ More significant still are the Khār-wās

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and Sanghārs of Gujarāt, the descendants of the fierce pirates of the Middle Ages. These too have sunk in the social scale. They commit many *kalivarjya* sins, such as meat eating, drinking intoxicants, and widow remarriage. But they obstinately cling to the caste tradition that they are Rājput, bearing Rājput names and wearing the sacred thread.⁷⁷

What causes may have led to this abhorrence of the sea among orthodox Hindus?

The references quoted have made the general Hindu attitude to the sea very clear. Nowhere in classical Sanskrit or Pāli literature have I been able to find a passage praising the seaman's life. Ancient Indian literature has no Ulysses or Jason, no Sindbad the sailor, the representative of the hardy voyager, who, despite the sea's hardships and dangers, is compelled by his wanderlust to put to sea again and again in search of new adventures. In fact, the implicit attitude to the sea is one of fear and distaste.

The one compensating advantage of the sea was that it was a means whereby, with luck, a man might acquire immense wealth—a favourite Sanskrit epithet of the ocean is *ratnākara*, the mine of jewels. This attitude to the sea may be summed up in a traditional Gujarātī verse: "Who goes to Java never returns. If by chance he return he brings back money enough to live on for two generations."⁷⁸

In the later Hindu period certain factors may have diminished the profitability of sea voyages. From a comparison of the statements in the *Periplus* with those of Fa Hien, the Arab travellers, and Marco Polo, it seems probable that there was a progressive increase of piracy during the period. Sulaimān and Ibn Battūta noticed that the timbers of Indian ships were never nailed. Marco Polo describes the ships of Manzi, or S. China, as larger than those of India. (Professor Mookerji gives the credit for these ships to India, but it seems certain that China is meant.⁷⁹) References such as these point to the fact that Indian techniques of ship construction and navigation

had by this time fallen behind those of the Arabs and Chinese. If this were the case it would be more profitable for a merchant to sell his wares direct to an Arab or Chinese trader in India, rather than to face risk and competition by taking them abroad himself. Thus there may have been practical and economic reasons for the decay of Indian maritime activity, which expressed themselves in the intensification of religious prejudices.

It must also be remembered that from the fifth century B.C. onwards unorthodox currents of thought existed in India. Buddhism, cosmopolitan and comparatively rationalist in outlook, took little account of the rules of ceremonial purity, and the Indian Buddhist was never bound to his homeland. Besides Buddhism a strong secular element, now often ignored, existed in Ancient India. The Lokāyata sophists taught that a man's first aim should be happiness and material wellbeing. If he wished to travel he should do so, and the loss of ceremonial purity in the course of his travels was of no consequence. Transmigration was a myth; there was no after-life, and nothing to fear from the Gods.

By the time of the Muslim invasion these old heresies were almost extinct in most of India, and Purāṇic Hinduism triumphant. Its puritanical element was no doubt strengthened by the invasion. With the *mleccha* overrunning the land the Brāhman's traditional antipathy to the foreigner must have been intensified. In such circumstances it is understandable that the religious objection to seafaring would spread, first throughout the Brāhman caste, and then downwards from the Brāhman to the lower classes. Those castes still earning a livelihood at sea would be forced lower and lower in the social scale.

In ancient days the maritime activity of the Hindus, though not as spectacular as that of the Phœnicians or the Norsemen, was obviously very vigorous. In its decline the respectable Indian's fear of the sea was given a religious sanction, until finally the high-caste Hindu became the world's

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most thoroughgoing landlubber. The great pride taken by modern India in her ancient achievement, though on occasions it ex-

presses itself rather uncritically, is surely an indication that she has found her sea-legs again.

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 - ⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 243.
 - ⁵⁸ I owe this suggestion to my colleague Mr. P. Hardy.
 - ⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
 - ⁶⁰ Vide Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 1.
 - ⁶¹ *Amara Kōśa*, with the commentary of Maheśvara (in Sanskrit), Bombay, 1896, X, 16.
 - ⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
 - ⁶³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, App. A, p. 725, Bombay, 1882.
 - ⁶⁴ *Marco Polo and Niccolo de Conti*, tr. John Frampton, ed. N. M. Penzer, London, 1929, p. 140.

NOTES ON SEAFARING IN ANCIENT INDIA

- ⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, opposite p. 40.
⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.
⁶⁷ VI, 41, tr. by G. Bühler with Āpastamba Baudhāyana and Gautama in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, Oxford, 1882.
⁶⁸ I, 32, p. 18.
⁶⁹ II, 1, p. 2.
⁷⁰ Vide P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 934.
⁷¹ III, 158, tr. by G. Bühler: *Sacred Books of the East*, XXXIII, Oxford, 1886.
⁷² IV, 179, tr. by J. Jolly: *Sacred Books of the East*, XXXIII, Oxford, 1889.
⁷³ XXXV, 271, vide Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
⁷⁴ Kane, *loc. cit.*
⁷⁵ Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 667, Calcutta, 1895.
⁷⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 147 ff.
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 520 ff.
⁷⁸ Paraphrased from A. K. Forbes: *Rās Mālā*, 1878, p. 418; quoted H. Yule and A. C. Burnell: *Hobson Jobson*, London, 1903, s.v. Jāva.
⁷⁹ Mookerji: *op. cit.*, p. 192; vide *Marco Polo* (tr. Yule, ed. Cordier), Vol. II, p. 391 n.

BOOK REVIEWS

India's Legacy, the World's Heritage. Vol. I.
 By Rao Sahib P. R. Ranganatha Punja.
 (Mangalore.)

(Reviewed by A. G. S.)

This book is, in the words of the author's dedication, a tribute of love and respect to his country, her people, religion, art and literature. It aims at showing that South India, inhabited since the origin of man by Dravidians, was the source of the earliest developments of culture, and that these developments spread westwards to Assyria, Egypt, and the lands surrounding the Mediterranean. The work is admittedly a compilation from a large variety of sources, whole chapters being reproduced verbatim from such authorities as the *Historian's History of the World*, H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*, and Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

There are disadvantages in this method of treatment. The main argument is overlaid by a wealth of material, some of which is scarcely relevant and some even negative. Dr. Hall, for instance, is quoted as saying: "With our present evidence, the Dravidians look like being a Mediterranean people, coming out of Crete, and passing through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia." On this the author comments: "Further discoveries might even demonstrate that Dr. Hall's theory is true, and the Sumerians were but Dravidians from India. In that case it

would be established that civilization first arose in India, and was associated probably with the primitive Dravidians. Then it was taken to Mesopotamia. . . ." What the Rao Sahib means is, no doubt, that further research may prove a theory directly opposite to that of Dr. Hall. It cannot be said that this book gives evidence of any such research or promise of any such proof. Still, it contains much interesting reading for those to whom the voluminous sources which have been laid under contribution are not readily accessible.

And Gazelles Leaping. By Sudhin N. Ghose.
 (London: Michael Joseph.) 12s. 6d.
 net.

(Reviewed by Edwin Haward)

This is the story told by a little boy, of the life of Calcutta's children in a kindergarten delightfully ruled by Sister Svenska, a Swedish missionary lady with an international reputation. This international reputation did not trouble her small charges, but they dimly recognized it one day when the school was in peril of encroachment by urban commercial interests which, after trying persuasion in terms of cash, threatened legal proceedings, to be defeated by an incensed public spirit moved to a realization of the excellence of the work done in

BOOK REVIEWS

this garden of children and their pets. The necessary equipment to outwit the threatened intruders was provided by a retired collector who, when victory was won, thrilled the children by falling on his knees and asking a blessing from Sister Svenska, or Svenska-Bibi, as they called her.

The little boy through whose eyes the adventures of the children are seen has that strong sense of logic decorated with the inconsequentiality of his age, and, let it be added, the poetic fantasy of his native Bengal. His affection for the dwarf elephant that had such an inferior complex until it was discovered that he was no dwarf, his

unhappy experience with the young gangsters who imitated the children of the "Dead End," and his happy escape from their clutches, are told with the vividness of a writer who knows children well and believes in them.

Dr. Ghose has not written just another Jungle Book—he has his own individual style, and naturally succeeds even better than Kipling in getting under the skin of his characters. This idyll of a Calcutta suburb's little world of children is a delightful addition to the library of children's literature, and incidentally had been appropriately illustrated by Arnakali E. Carlile.

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES¹

By the Right Hon. The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

I CAME into contact with the subject of this paper in a general way during the time I was in India; but I obtained a more direct and much more intimate knowledge of it three or four years ago when I was appointed Chairman of the Inter-Departmental Commission set up by Mr. Eden, then Foreign Secretary, to enquire into the facilities provided by our Universities in the United Kingdom for Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African studies. The Commission reported in 1946, and its recommendations have been, in the main, accepted by His Majesty's Government and a beginning has already been made to implement them.

The Commission's report was of interest, principally, to those in Universities which teach or research in the languages and history of those parts of the world that formed the subject of the Commission's enquiry. In so

far as it dealt with Oriental studies, it was mainly of interest to Orientalists.

But though the detailed recommendations which we made were mainly of interest to specialists of that kind, there was lying behind them a much larger motive and one which ultimately concerns the man-in-the-street as much as the specialist in the University. We said, in effect, that it was of real national importance that understanding of the peoples of Asia, of their ways of life, should be more widely spread in our country: and in this paper I shall try to give you our reasons. But do not mistake me, I am not myself an expert in Oriental studies: I do not speak any Oriental language, and I can make no claim to be a scholar in an Oriental subject. I once tried to learn one of the 800 languages and dialects of India and I believe I should have got along with it quite passably, but the war came, and I had more urgent things to

¹ This article was an address to a Rotary Conference. It is reprinted from the *Durham University Journal* for March, 1949, by permission of Lord Scarbrough and the Editor.

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attend to, and I had to give up the attempt.

I was therefore a layman on this Commission, but I have a great admiration for the British Orientalists: some of them have been great figures to the learned men of Oriental countries, and have done a great deal to promote understanding between East and West. I write therefore as a layman, and not a specialist, and subject therefore to all the errors that laymen fall into when they begin to talk on specialist subjects; but perhaps I may attempt to strengthen my claim to write on this subject by stating that I have for some time been connected with several Societies which, in different ways, endeavour to promote understanding in our own country of the countries of Asia.

Why is it of national importance, as we claim, that in this country there should be more widespread understanding of the peoples of Asia? I will give you some reasons. The first is this. More than half the population of the world is to be found in the countries of Asia. Our world has shrunk so rapidly that there is now no country in Asia that you cannot reach in three or four days; for us, those millions of Asia are as close as York was to London in our great-grandfathers' time. It is surely only a matter of common sense that we should try to understand something about these huge masses of people—500 millions of them in China, 400 millions in India alone—more than half the total population of the world, who are brought by modern developments so close to us. They are no longer far away, distant, almost mythical people. They have become close neighbours, and it is common prudence to know something of one's neighbours.

Then there is much to be learnt from Oriental countries. From them have sprung civilizations of great antiquity, great religions, profound systems of philosophy, great literatures and an immense store of wisdom. All the founders of the great religions of the world came out of Asia. Christ appeared in Palestine; Mohammed came from Arabia; Buddha from India; Confucius from China; and that system of living, which is

Hinduism, sprang also from India. Most Europeans are adherents of the Christian religion, and conclude from that that the world is living in a Christian era, but let us not overlook the fact that there are more followers of Confucius in the world than there are Roman Catholics; the Hindus and the Mohammedans each out-number the Protestants; and the Buddhists are more numerous than the adherents of the Orthodox Church.

When we are thus reminded that our own religion had its birth in Asia, and that the same is true of all the other great religions of the world, and that they have in Asia hundreds of millions of adherents, we must acknowledge that in matters of the spirit much has come, and perhaps much has still to be learnt, from Asia.

We of the West, in our more thoughtless moments, are inclined to think of ourselves as the only civilized peoples of the world and as having brought the benefits of civilization to the unenlightened peoples of the East. Such impulses are quickly corrected if we remember that, several thousands of years before our ancestors knew how to make their arrowheads of iron, there were great centres of civilization in China, in Mesopotamia, in India and in Persia, and of course in Egypt, which, though part of the continent of Africa, is closely akin to Asia. 6000 B.C. is given as the date of a flourishing civilization in Mesopotamia. Recent exploration in India has revealed a civilization of 2500 B.C. with elaborate houses, public baths, culverts and drains in the streets, and a written language. It was many years, years which must be measured in thousands, before anything so advanced as those appeared in these islands. The truth is that we represent not the only, but only the junior, civilization. In Asia the struggle of man to rise above the jungle had its successes much earlier than in Europe.

I do not seek to draw any striking conclusions from a recital of these facts. They should, however, remind us that civilizations of great antiquity, far more ancient than our own, have flourished in the countries of the East. If we take pride in our own history and

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antiquities, we should do right to respect the veneration of Eastern peoples for their past, and to recognize that there is much in the past in Asia from which we could learn. But it is not only on account of the past, fascinating though that be to the student of history, that cultural relations with Oriental countries should be developed. There is a far more compelling reason which has to do with the present and the future.

The position that we occupied for so long in a number of Eastern countries, particularly in India, on account of the establishment there of British rule, brought us into relations of many kinds with Oriental peoples. Very often those relations were very close. The relationship, for instance, between British officers and their men in the Indian Army was of the finest nature. It was marked by loyalty, trust and affection on both sides, of the truest kind. No better relationship could be observed. I doubt if a better ever existed between men of different races. It is a matter for real regret that it has ceased to be. A very large part of the network of close relationship, which was an accompaniment of British rule, has disappeared now that India and Pakistan and Ceylon and Burma have emerged into full independence. With political ties vanishing and commercial ties changing, we may lose all intimate contact with the peoples of the East unless a new relationship can be found of a kind acceptable to both parties.

It seems to me that this may be a question of great significance. It may influence the whole future of East and West. In particular, if this new relationship cannot be found, it may mean the drifting away of what I may remind you is more than half the population of the whole world from intimate contact with our own British race, which has, since the days of Queen Elizabeth, had a special association with the peoples of the Eastern world; and what such a drift away might mean to future generations cannot be foretold. A new relationship, to replace the old, to fill the gulf which will emerge with the passing of the old, and which will be acceptable to a newly emancipated national pride,

must be sought. It can only be found, I believe, in the mutual understanding of our respective ways of life and thought, and in the conscious and imaginative development of that understanding, so that in time it will take its place in the national outlook of this country and, we may hope, of Eastern countries too. Therein, for the present and the future, seems to lie the great importance of this question.

I would add two further reasons why this question of cultural relations is of national importance. There is, I think, a natural and honourable desire amongst many people in this country that the British connection with India and Pakistan should be continued in some way appropriate to the change that has now taken place. Our record in India has no real parallel in history. I do not expect that at this stage, on the morrow of their attainment, those who have struggled for their independence for a generation will be ready to give an ungrudging assent to that claim, but I have no doubt that their own historians will come to grant it at some future time. It would be a sterile end to a great work if we lost our interest in India and Pakistan, and it would be breaking faith with the men and women of our own race who for more than 150 years went out to toil in India. With them, as Lord Curzon wrote, the undying magic of India and its peoples remains. Their work would not be fulfilled if the end of political rule meant also the end of all intimate association. I would regard the spread of understanding in the culture and history and the modern problems of India and Pakistan as the desirable and, in present circumstances, appropriate sequel to our former association with them.

There is one more reason to be advanced. The last war showed how ill-equipped we were as a nation to understand the customs, daily life and problems of many parts of the globe. The whole world was the stage in that war. There was no part of the world that was not in some way involved either as the theatre of some campaign, or as a provider of the vast equipment needed to nourish the many campaigns. All this demanded a

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degree of knowledge and understanding which we did not possess. We were perhaps better equipped than most to undertake such tasks in the East, but even so our store of knowledge was woefully inadequate: and those able to apply it were but a handful. If we would profit by this lesson of the war, we should make sure that there is always at our disposal for peace and war an adequate measure of knowledge and capacity in Oriental affairs; and that requires a greater effort at understanding their peoples.

I have stated the reasons which, collected together, form, I hope you will agree, a convincing case for taking more trouble, as a nation, over cultural relations with Eastern countries. I can only intimate in a few sentences how this may be brought about. What is needed is a long term, firmly based effort, not a flash in the pan which will vanish after the first enthusiasm has worn off.

The foundation must be laid in the Universities. Strong University Departments, which deal in oriental subjects, should be built up. The Commission, to which I referred earlier, made recommendations for the building up of these departments on a permanent basis: and I am glad to say that funds have been provided for them and a beginning has already been made. But it can only be a gradual process and it may be ten years at least before results begin to be seen in the Universities alone. This foundation in the Universities is the essential beginning. What we should aim at in this matter is the spread of understanding of the way of life of these peoples: that understanding can only come from knowledge, and knowledge, in turn, comes from scholarship and research of the highest quality. From these University Departments should spread the leaven which in time will have its influence on the thought and outlook of the whole nation. Looking a long way ahead, if this seed now being cultivated flourishes, many an Englishman will feel less of a stranger with the Indian or Chinaman because there will have been woven into his outlook some understanding of their ways and of their contribution to the world.

There is one special function of some of these University Departments to which I would draw attention, that is, the provision of short courses for men going out to these countries in service of any kind, such as service under the Colonial Office, or Foreign Office, or as missionaries, and particularly for those going out to represent business firms. A foundation of knowledge of a language can be acquired in a short course, enough to stimulate the interest of the young man going, say, to India or China for the first time. I believe this form of preliminary training is now of considerable importance to commercial firms. Oriental countries, particularly those who have just achieved the full management of their own affairs, will resent indifference to their culture and language, but will welcome those who attempt some understanding of them with a warmth and generosity which may be surprising.

I have laid the emphasis on founding this effort firmly in the Universities, for I am under no illusion that the British public in general will suddenly be persuaded to take an interest in matters of this kind—or, if they were, that it would be lasting. Only a steady-burning, undying flame of inspiration, such as can be kindled in the Universities, will give the permanence and the quality which will be of lasting value. Once that fire is burning freely, it will find ways to spread its warmth among teachers in other University Departments, among teachers in schools, by way of books of sound quality (and, if genius arises, of popular appeal), by way of travel, by adult education. But though I look to the Universities for the foundation of this effort, there is no reason why it should not be assisted and promoted from outside the academic world. Other organizations, I am sure, can do, in fact to some extent already do, much to spread the doctrine of the importance of understanding Oriental peoples and to lead men's minds to enquire how it can be done.

In this paper I have confined my remarks to the countries of Asia. They present much

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the largest and, I would say, most interesting side of the problem. But the same general theme applies to other parts of the world. The Commission which I have already mentioned dealt also with Russian and African studies. I have no doubt at all that it would be a most desirable thing to have close cultural relations with Russia; and undoubtedly there was a widespread desire in this country for their development at the end of the war. But the Iron Curtain has descended and little comes out but propaganda; and just as was the case after the First World War the desire in this country and its plans to promote cultural understanding look like being rebuffed. Africa presents some very special features. In Central Africa there have been no ancient civilizations: though there are over 700 spoken African languages there is no literature behind them. Only a few of them have been reduced to that state of organization on which a grammar can be founded. Africa, therefore, is in some ways a different problem, but the need for us to understand the African and his thought is no less great. We still rule large parts of Africa; and in time the same sort of political problem

may confront us as in India in the last two generations. Perhaps if, as a nation, we can achieve some greater understanding of the African, those problems may not be so intractable.

I return to the East for a moment longer. This subject of Cultural Relations with Oriental countries is one, I know, which has hitherto been thought to be of interest only to those with some specialist knowledge of the East. My object has been to show that now it is of national importance and ought to be thought about by a wider circle. It is a subject not unconcerned with the peace of the world. Here is a large part of the human race with different ways of life from ours: brought closer to us by modern communications, striving for and achieving the mastery of their own affairs. It is wise to try to understand them: in doing so we shall find that there is much to admire and respect and much that may be learnt. I hope that this sort of understanding will gradually become that new form of relationship which can take the place of the honourable ties we have had in the past with so many Oriental peoples.

SCARBROUGH.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

THIRD CONFERENCE, DURHAM, JULY 18-21, 1949

The Association of British Orientalists was founded as the result of the Sir William Jones Bicentenary Conference held at Oxford in 1946, in order to bring University teachers, and others interested in oriental studies, together in periodical conferences, and to co-ordinate their activities for the promotion of the study of the oriental civilizations both inside and outside the Universities. The proceedings of the Sir William Jones Conference and the second Conference of the Association, which was held at Cambridge in

1947, have been published by the Royal India and Pakistan Society.

The third Conference, held at Durham in July, 1949, was devoted principally to the discussion of post-graduate training and of the special needs of those students who are taking up careers in Oriental studies with the assistance of Treasury student-ships under the recommendations of the Scarbrough Report. A summary account of the proceedings of the third Conference follows.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

Third Conference

Durham, July 18-21, 1949

Monday, July 18

8.30 p.m. A. A. MACFARLANE-GRIEVE, Esq.,
M.C., M.A., Master of University College, Durham, in the Chair.

Sir James Duff, Warden of the Durham Colleges, gave an informal account of his experiences and impressions as a member of the Indian Universities' Commission which, under the chairmanship of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, had recently completed a visitation of the Universities in India and was now preparing its Report.

After a short discussion, Professor Gibb expressed the thanks of the Conference to the Warden and Master for the hospitality given to the Conference by the Durham Colleges, and for the personal interest they had shown by taking part in the opening meeting.

Tuesday, July 19

10.0 a.m. PROFESSOR T. FISH in the Chair.

In place of the Report of the Translations Committee, Professor Gibb presented, on behalf of the Executive Committee, a draft letter (prepared by Mr. H. N. Spalding, with the assistance of sectional editors) outlining proposals for translations from oriental literatures and works on oriental art, to be addressed on behalf of the Association to the American Council of Learned Societies and the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Conference divided thereafter into three sections (Near Eastern, Indian, and Far Eastern) to examine the draft in detail and to make proposals for its revision.

5.0 p.m. PROFESSOR HOMER H. DUBS in the Chair.

Dr. Beeston (on behalf of Professor Haloun, absent in China) presented the following report of the Microfilm Committee.

"Members of the Association will recall that in the committee's last report a scheme was outlined whereby a central bureau was to be established with its own secretarial staff, its own photographic equipment and

personnel, which would tour the country collecting microfilms of the most important oriental manuscripts and printed books. Naturally, such a scheme would have involved considerable financial outlay. Professor Haloun undertook, on behalf of the committee, to explore the sources from which financial support might be hoped. These negotiations were still in progress at the time of the Association's Cambridge meeting. We have not yet, however, succeeded in finding financial backing for the original scheme.

"The committee, therefore, decided to approach the problem from a different angle, and has drafted an alternative scheme. The essence of this new scheme is that the principal British libraries should be asked to collaborate in forming a central deposit of microfilm copies of their chief oriental treasures. The advantages of such a scheme are that on the one hand it involves no financial demands from outside sources, since the costs would be borne by the libraries themselves; while at the same time a concrete organization would come into being and if at any time financial support proved to be forthcoming from outside sources, this support could be used to broaden the scope of the organization's activities. The present scheme will, therefore, not prejudice the possibilities of carrying into effect the original more extensive scheme if this should eventually prove practicable; the wider plan would simply be grafted on to the organization called into being by the scheme now proposed.

"A circular inviting support for this scheme has already been sent to the British Museum, India Office Library, Chester Beatty Collection, School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Library, Bodleian and John Rylands Libraries, and a reply, favourable in principle, has been received from some of them, but some time must naturally elapse before formal adherences can be expected. It is possible that one or two of those approached may find themselves obliged to decline participating, but this need not prevent the initiation of the scheme so long as a substantial proportion of the libraries agree to join in.

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"By the constitution of this Association, committees appointed at one meeting come to an end at the next meeting. In resigning our mandate, we would ask this meeting to appoint a new committee for the purpose of dealing with the business arising out of the steps taken by the present committee, and of considering any other plans which may seem desirable."

The report was adopted.

Professor J. R. Firth presented a report on the *Oriental Yearbook*. The committee set up by the previous Conference had explored, without success, the possibilities of issuing a bibliographical yearbook in association with commercial publishers, and a project for subsidy from the British Council had come to nothing. At this point, however, the School of Oriental and African Studies had undertaken to sponsor the *Yearbook* for a preliminary period of years, with the assistance of members of the Association in other Universities. Cards for the first issue, which would be devoted to books and articles on oriental and African subjects published in 1948, were nearly complete, and it was hoped to issue the volume early in 1950.

A brief discussion followed, in which members of the Conference expressed their appreciation of the action of the School of Oriental and African Studies and their desire to see the *Yearbook* maintained and developed.

8.0 p.m. PROFESSOR C. H. PHILIPS in the Chair.

Professor Gibb opened a discussion on the present situation and problems of postgraduate training in oriental studies. After recalling the establishment of the Ph.D. degree and its adjustment to existing postgraduate courses in British Universities (which had resulted, amongst other changes, in the supersession of the valuable old London M.A. course in Oriental languages), he outlined the special difficulties involved in making the Ph.D. training in oriental studies a sound foundation for research work and in ensuring equality of standards. The principal safeguards were to be sought in organizing

the studies within each area on approximately uniform lines in all universities, and in maintaining inter-university co-operation in examinations. In conclusion he suggested the following general principles for discussion:

1. That the period of training from first degree in oriental studies to the presentation of a Ph.D. thesis should normally be not less than three years.

2. That the first two years of postgraduate study should be occupied mainly with the continuation and broadening of undergraduate studies.

3. That the essential value of a Ph.D. training should lie in the training of judgment.

4. That a Ph.D. thesis should be as short as is consistent with the presentation of the facts and evidence and the exposition of the ideas.

5. That the maintenance of equal standards in postgraduate studies is best assured by continuity in the persons of the examiners.

These suggestions were then discussed in that order by the members of the Conference and received general approval.

Wednesday, July 20

10.0 a.m. SIR JOHN PRATT in the Chair.

The Chairmen of the three sections (Professor Fish for the Near Eastern section, Professor Philips for the Indian section, and Professor Dubs for the Far Eastern section) presented the detailed and general observations made by their sections on the draft letter from the Association to the A.C.L.S. and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Amongst the points raised in the ensuing discussion were the extent to which the proposed programme fell (or could be brought) within the purview of the new Joint Advisory Committee on Publications, set up by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London on the recommendation of the University Grants Committee, and the desirability of separating the proposals for translations from oriental literature from those relating to the study of oriental art. It was

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finally agreed that the letter should be revised by Mr. H. N. Spalding and Professor Gibb in the sense of the recommendations submitted by the sections, and after approval by the Executive Committee be submitted to the Joint Advisory Committee on Publications for its observations before being sent to the A.C.L.S. and the Rockefeller Foundation.

5.0 p.m. PROFESSOR FISH in the Chair.

Dr. Bernard Lewis opened a discussion on the training of holders of Treasury Studentships in Oriental Studies, with special reference to students whose first degree was taken in a discipline other than oriental studies. He suggested that the training of these students should aim, in the first place, at imparting a sound knowledge of the history, literature, religions, etc., of the chosen area and of the instruments of study, the most important of which was language—*i.e.*, the language or languages of the region itself and the European languages required for its study. One difficulty was, that for serious work in any of the classical oriental civilizations, a linguistic knowledge short of the normal Honours standard was insufficient, although for work in modern history or sociology a much less rigorous linguistic discipline would suffice. Thus the language training of these students would be varied according to the areas, period, and subject of their work. Training in research offered probably the most difficult problem of all, in view of the length of the period required for their preliminary training. On the other hand, these students are presumed to be possessed of unusual intellectual ability and maturity; they have already acquired a specialized foundation for their future studies by their courses for first degrees; and in many cases their relationships with their teachers in oriental studies would be closer to that between postgraduate students and supervisors than those of ordinary undergraduates. Thus they might normally be expected to acquire the techniques of research and training in judgment simultaneously with their acquisition of the basic skills and instruments of oriental studies.

Discussion was devoted mainly to the question whether students holding first degrees in other than oriental studies should be required to take either a second B.A. examination or some equivalent examination in an oriental language. This was shown by various examples to be the course usually adopted in those Universities and departments in which these students were now under training, and the meeting generally agreed that this should be the normal practice, except in the case of those students who specialize in subjects for which a vernacular rather than literary knowledge is required.

8.0 p.m. PROFESSOR J. R. FIRTH in the Chair.

Professor Raymond Firth opened a discussion on Sociology in Relation to Oriental Studies. He pointed out the immensity of the field to be covered by sociological investigation, not only in regard to the relatively simpler and unliterary societies still existing in many parts of Asia and Africa, but also in the advanced societies with ancient literary and cultural traditions, and the inadequacy of purely literary evidence for the study—*e.g.*, of kinship, status, and other groups, and the analysis of integrating and disruptive factors. Every branch of classical oriental studies—language, literature, religion, history, law, and economics—had its sociological aspects and components. Although some work had already been done in many of these fields, the nature, size and complexity of the task was not yet fully appreciated in the traditional disciplines of oriental studies. Finally he offered three propositions for discussion:

1. A first degree in oriental studies might include sociology as a requirement or option, whether it formed part of the formal written examination or not.
2. The sociological contribution is best made by a sociologist.
3. A committee might be formed to discuss the content and methods of study of the sociological component of oriental studies.

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The discussion revealed considerable difference of opinion amongst the members of the Conference. Several members argued that syllabuses for first degree in oriental languages were already too overcrowded to permit of the addition of sociology, even as a non-examination subject. On the other hand, instances were given of degree syllabuses in which a relevant branch of sociology was included as an optional subject. It was suggested that the required emphasis of sociological content could be obtained, without disorganizing existing syllabuses, by teachers who were alive to the sociological implications of their subjects. But it was agreed that sociology, as such, was best taught by sociologists. On the whole, members were inclined to reserve judgment, but accepted tentatively a resolution that the sociological component should be more formally incorporated in oriental studies.

Thursday, July 21

9.30 a.m. PROFESSOR GIBB in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were put to the meeting and adopted as Resolutions of the Conference:

I. ORIENTAL YEARBOOK

1. That this Conference of the Association of British Orientalists places on record its full appreciation of the action of the School of Oriental and African Studies in undertaking the publication of an oriental annual bibliography, as proposed at the Sir William Jones Conference and promoted by the Yearbook Committee.

2. It further pledges its support, and feels confident that its members will give all assistance possible, in order that this service to oriental learning may be established and continued in accordance with the aims of the Association.

II. POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

1. That the period of training from first degree in oriental studies to the presentation of a Ph.D. thesis should normally be not less than three years.

2. That the first two years of postgraduate study should be occupied mainly with the continuation and broadening of undergraduate studies.

3. That the essential value of a Ph.D. training should lie in the training of judgment.

4. That a Ph.D. thesis should be as short as is consistent with the presentation of the facts and evidence and the exposition of the ideas.

5. That the maintenance of equal standards in postgraduate studies is best assured by continuity in the persons of the examiners.

III. DRAFT LETTER ON TRANSLATIONS AND ART STUDIES

That the final drafting of the Statement be entrusted to Mr. H. N. Spalding and Professor Gibb and, after reference to the Chairmen of sections, be submitted to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee should then send the draft to the Joint Advisory Committee on Publications, and, after such modifications as that Committee may suggest, should transmit it to the American Council of Learned Societies and the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation.

IV. TRAINING OF SCARBROUGH STUDENTS

That in the opinion of this Conference the normal course of training for students who hold first degrees in other disciplines should be on the lines of, but not necessarily identical with, the course for an Honours degree in the relevant branch of oriental studies, except in the case of those students whose fields of study require a vernacular rather than a literary knowledge.

V. SOCIOLOGY IN RELATION TO ORIENTAL STUDIES

That it is generally agreed that the sociological component of oriental studies should be more formally recognized.

The Chairman made a brief report on the financial position.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

The following Committees were elected:

Executive Committee

Professor Arberry (Cambridge)
W. A. C. H. Dobson (Oxford)
Professor Gibb (Oxford)
Professor C. H. Philips (London)
Professor Thacker (Durham)

Microfilms Committee

Professor H. W. Bailey (Cambridge)
Dr. Beeston (Bodleian Library)
Professor Haloun (Cambridge)
Dr. Leveen (British Museum)
Dr. Sainsbury (S.O.A.S.)

In view of the presentation of the Statement on Translations to the Joint Advisory Committee on Publications, it was decided to suspend the re-election of the Translations Committee for the time being, and the Executive Committee was empowered to act in its place. The Executive Committee was further empowered, at its discretion, to invite the nominating bodies to reconstitute the Translations Committee.

It was suggested for the consideration of the Executive Committee that the next Conference should be held at Oxford in September, 1950.

Votes of thanks were proposed by the Chairman and heartily accorded to the Warden of the Durham Colleges and the Master of University College for the hospitality shown to the Conference; to Professor Thacker and his staff for their efficient local organization and attention to the comfort and convenience of members; and to the Chairmen of Committees.

On the motion of Professor Dubs, the Conference passed a vote of thanks to Professor Gibb and Professor Fish for their successful organization of the Conference.

The Chairman then declared the Conference ended.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

MEMBERS OF THE DURHAM CONFERENCE,
JULY 18-21, 1949

Professor A. J. Arberry (University of Cambridge).

Professor H. W. Bailey (University of Cambridge).

Dr. A. A. Baké (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Dr. A. F. L. Beeston (University of Oxford).

H. H. Bilgrami (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Cyril Birch (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Professor T. Burrow (University of Oxford).

W. C. Cassels, C.B.E. (China Association).

E. B. Ceadel (University of Cambridge).

A. J. M. Craig (University of Durham).

W. A. C. H. Dobson (University of Oxford).

Professor Homer H. Dubs (University of Oxford).

Charles J. Dunn (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Professor J. R. Firth (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Professor Raymond Firth (London School of Economics).

Professor T. Fish (University of Manchester).

R. A. D. Forrest (School of Oriental and African Studies).

R. A. Furness, C.M.G., C.B.E. (British Council).

Professor H. A. R. Gibb (University of Oxford).

Dr. O. R. Gurney (University of Oxford).

W. H. Hansford (Universities China Committee).

Edwin Haward (India, Pakistan and Burma Association).

R. Hill (University of Durham).

C. W. Holmes (University of Durham).

Dr. J. Leveen (British Museum).

Dr. R. Levy (University of Cambridge).

Dr. Bernard Lewis (School of Oriental and African Studies).

M. F. Laming Macadam (University of Durham).

Alfred Master (School of Oriental and African Studies).

E. H. Paxton (British Broadcasting Corporation).

Professor C. H. Philips (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Sir John T. Pratt (Universities China Committee).

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

- | | |
|---|---|
| F. Richter (Royal India and Pakistan Society). | Y. T. Tsao (School of Oriental and African Studies). |
| R. H. Robins (School of Oriental and African Studies). | Dr. R. Walzer (University of Oxford). |
| Dr. J. Robson (University of Glasgow). | Dr. W. Montgomery Watt (University of Edinburgh). |
| Dr. J. Schacht (University of Oxford). | Zayn al Abidin b. Ahmad (School of Oriental and African Studies). |
| Dr. Sinor (University of Cambridge). | |
| R. M. Smith (University of Cambridge). | |
| H. N. Spalding (University of Oxford). | |
| Dr. M. N. Srinivas (University of Oxford). | |
| Professor T. W. Thacker (University of Durham). | |
| M. S. H. Thompson (School of Oriental and African Studies). | |

Guests

- Professor J. Demiéville (Paris).
Professor J. Duyvendak (Leiden).
Professor Murray Emeneau (Berkeley, California).
Professor J. Sauvaget (Paris).

SUMMER SCHOOL

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS ON CULTURAL LINKS WITH INDIA AND PAKISTAN: OXFORD, JULY 10-13, 1949

Chairmen

SIR WILLIAM BARTON. DR. LE MAY

Introduced by SIR JOHN SARGENT

Preamble

"Cultural Links with India and Pakistan" was a wide term. Several agencies and individuals were interested in promoting them. The terms of reference, therefore, of the discussion were more specifically defined as "means of presenting the culture of India and Pakistan to the people of Great Britain." The interests of the Society were thus complementary to those of the British Council, who were concerned to present British culture to Indians and Pakistanis, and did not clash with the "Society for Cultural Relations with India and Pakistan," which existed to "fill the gaps" left by the older foundations, and might be prepared to finance some of their activities. Thus restricted, the topics for discussion were further considered as those activities that were directed towards the "learned fraternity" and those for the "intelligent layman." It was stressed that the

Society might profitably address its efforts to the latter whose need was the greater.

Finance

Finance was the crux. The Budget of the British Council for India and Pakistan was limited and carefully allocated--there was no margin here. The Committee for Cultural Relations with India and Pakistan were seeking finance and might find among the Royal India and Pakistan Society's interests projects which it could assist. But that was in the future. The Royal India and Pakistan Society had little in the way of funds itself. What efforts therefore could be promoted which depended more on individual enthusiasm than large expenditure, on the exertion of influence rather than the requirement of capital?

The meeting turned to discuss some possibilities.

Contacts

(i) Private. It was agreed that personal contacts rather than formal organization

THE SOCIETY'S SUMMER SCHOOL AT OXFORD

was the stuff of which international relations was composed. Routine tours and official programmes lacked the personal touch. Could visiting Indians be introduced to private homes? Instances were given of the lasting value of such contacts in the past. They should be encouraged, though it was recognized that under existing circumstances the domestic and financial difficulties of individuals made them difficult.

(ii) Institutional. Could Colleges and Learned Societies and so on arrange "reciprocal club facilities" with their sister institutions in India, and so provide a natural "home" for visiting Indians from which both Asian and European might benefit? Here private suggestion from within, rather than official representation from without, was more likely of success.

The Layman's dilemma

Members present stressed that projections of various aspects of Indian culture in this country presented difficulties for the "intelligent layman" because of the lack of popular explanation. Indian culture needed skilled interpretation. The organizers of Exhibitions, and the editors of Journals, were both guilty of neglect in this matter. The learned monograph on a detailed subject, the brief label on an exhibit, and the sparse entry in the exhibition catalogue, failed to provide the information necessary for appreciation. What steps could be taken to make up this omission? Even competent art critics confessed their inability to understand Indian Art. How could they be educated, and in turn help in educating others?

Dancing and Music

Dancing, it was suggested, provided a happy exception. It was not difficult to understand, and it had caught the popular imagination. Could not more opportunities be provided for British audiences to see good Indian dancing? Could Indians and Pakistanis not be encouraged to take part in International Folk Dancing congresses? Music too, as was demonstrated during the conference, could be made intelligible to, and

appreciated by, English audiences. Could not something be done through concerts, the B.B.C., and gramophone records to extend this interest?

Literature

Contemporary vernacular literature was poorly represented in translation. The possibilities of adequate translation were well illustrated in the case of Russia, in the influence of the work of Dostoevsky. But publishers were not interested in Indian literature. A scheme for the provision of two scholarships of Rs. 1,000 each, to encourage contemporary letters in Hindi and Bengali, was mentioned and warmly commended. But what, it was asked, could be done for Urdu, and Mahratti, which had claims as pressing as Bengali?

Summer School

It was thought that a Summer School for Indian visitors, in which Europeans might participate, could be organized at a British University, on the analogy of the successful Foreign Office experiment for Germans at Wilton Park. It had been tried with Chinese students and found successful. The Oxford-Bonn and Oxford-Aix Committees showed what could be done by university students themselves in this direction. Finance was a problem, but it was thought that this could be as self-supporting as were similar ventures undertaken for Continentals. One Indian Vice-Chancellor had expressed his willingness to defray the expenses of his own students in such a School.

General Education

General education in things Indian was sadly lacking. The extra-mural Departments of Universities, school authorities, the W.E.A., the L.C.C. Institutes, and the B.B.C., might be provoked to provide it. Representatives of the B.B.C. present offered their services with their Corporation in this matter. The Institutes by statute provided any course for which there were twelve willing students. These openings might be exploited, and others provoked by direct approach.

THE SOCIETY'S SUMMER SCHOOL AT OXFORD

Visits to India

Interesting Englishmen in things Indian at home might be supplemented by encouraging them to visit India. A scheme to send some forty university members to India in the Long Vacation, planned, printed and produced by two Cambridge undergraduates, was discussed. It was warmly commended for its imagination, resource, and practicability. Its details might be left for further discussion, but in principle its intention was in harmony with the aims of the Society.

British School in Asia

The Society was informed of the proposal of the Society of Cultural Relations with India and Pakistan to establish a School in India, along the lines of the British Schools in Athens and Rome. It was warmly supported.

Action

From this discussion the following points emerged, which it was agreed to refer to a sub-committee for further examination and action.

(i) To examine the possibilities of introduction of Indian visitors to British homes, and of inducing Colleges and Societies to accord facilities and temporary membership to visitors from sister organizations in India.

(ii) To examine the possibilities of getting good casts of Indian sculpture for art schools, in order to educate the critics and interpreters of the future. To provide more general background studies for art and learning, in such journals as that of the Society. To emphasize to the promoters of exhibitions the necessity for popular explanation and interpretation.

(iii) To examine means of providing more Indian dancing for English audiences, and to encourage the scheme of Mr. Bedbrook and Dr. Baké for stimulating the study of Indian music. To make representations to the Governments of India and Pakistan for the participation of troupes of dancers at International Folk-dancing Congresses.

(iv) To examine and explore the possibilities of a summer school for Indian visitors.

(v) To make representations to the bodies

concerned with general education, to include Indian subjects in their syllabuses, and especially to impress upon the B.B.C., the importance of their including more Indian subjects in their programmes.

(vi) To encourage and promote the scheme for student travel to India and Pakistan, proposed by Mr. Rowlands and Mr. Gordon-Brown, of Cambridge University.

Resolutions

Agreement in principle to the above suggestions was signified by the passing of resolutions which embodied their substance, and which authorized a sub-committee, on behalf of the Society, to examine and report further upon them before the end of the year.

The necessity and future of India and Pakistan studies in the United Kingdom

1. Contemporary matters for study.

(a) India's concern and influence in Southern Asia—Pakistan's concern and influence in world of Islam.

2. Common heritage — interdependence culturally. The languages and cultures of India and Pakistan form a humane study of importance to mankind.

3. Consequences of British past policy in India. General neglect until recently of Indian studies in the United Kingdom—see Scarborough Report, pp. 23-4.

4. More hopeful present academic position, especially at Universities of Cambridge, London, Manchester, Oxford, Durham. The study of humanities and social sciences in relation to India and Pakistan. Small numbers affected. A scientific training in scientific method.

5. Important contribution of Learned Societies.

6. What can be done in our schools, the foundation of our whole educational structure?

The discussion ranged widely, but most attention was given to:

(a) The need to provide University courses to attract wider interest—"an



SUMMER SCHOOL, OXFORD, JULY, 1949
 Royal India and Pakistan Society

Photo: Griffiths and Sons

THE SOCIETY'S SUMMER SCHOOL AT OXFORD

Oriental Greats." Also the importance of translations was stressed.

(b) The need to interest schoolchildren and schools. Suggestion that a panel of lecturers might be formed by Learned Societies to serve schools.

(c) The importance of establishing high standards in Universities where influence would be exercised on large numbers of Indians and Pakistanis.

The following among others attended the Summer School:

The Thai Ambassador, Sir Richard and Lady Livingstone, Sir William Barton, Mr. and Mrs. Salman Ali, Sir John Sargent, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, Prof. Burrow, Prof. Philips, Mr. Barbour, Mr. Master, Mr. Ismay, Mr. Marr, Dr. le May, Mr. Tunnard Moore, Mr. Rowlands, Mr. Bedbrook, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Linton, Mr. A. K. Barkakoly, Mr. Barpizari, Mr. Ramchandra Rao, Mr.

Hebber, Dr. and Mrs. William Cohn, Mr. Elton, Mr. Speed, Mr. and Mrs. Fry, Mr. Wint, Mrs. Latham, Miss Vaudeville, Dr. and Mrs. Baké, Dr. Hill, M. Fourcade, M. Daladier, Mr. Elwin, Mr. Basham, Mr. Mukherji, Mr. Harcourt Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. Archer, Miss Alty, Mrs. Milford, Mrs. Seligman, Mrs. Winifred Holmes, Mrs. Long, Dr. Srinivas, Miss Fowler, Dr. Ikbal Ali Shah, Miss Macready, Miss Wheelwright, Mr. Stooke, Colonel Dobson, Mr. and Mrs. Harden, Mr. Sloss, Dr. Conzé, and Mr. Richter (Hon. Secretary).

Exhibits were kindly lent by the High Commissioner for India and were greatly appreciated.

Thanks are also due to Sir Richard Livingstone for giving the hospitality of Corpus Christi College to the Conference, and to the British Council for much help and for permission to hold the meeting at Black Hall.

ROYAL INDIA AND PAKISTAN SOCIETY FORTIETH ANNUAL REPORT

THE programme for the year was marked by considerable variety, and included lectures, exhibitions, film displays, music and dance recitals, and a reception.

Our interest in the sphere of the cultural influences of India and Pakistan extended to Burma, Tibet, Java, Ceylon, and Indonesia.

LECTURES

(a) *The Exhibition at the Royal Academy.*

In connection with the Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan at the Royal Academy, the series of lectures inaugurated in conjunction with the Royal Asiatic Society in the previous year was continued, and the following subjects were treated:

MR. BASIL GRAY on "Indian Painting."

MR. K. DE B. CODRINGTON on "The development of Indian Sculpture."

(b) *Indian Cultural Influences*

The following lectures were held under the auspices of the Maharaja Gackwar Lecture Fund on the Art of Greater India:

MARIE-THÉRÈSE DE MALLMANN (of the staff of the Guimet Museum) on "Head-dresses with Figurines in Indian Art," at the French Institute.

DR. REGINALD LE MAY on "The Development of Buddhist Art in Burma," at the Allied Circle.

MISS BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES on "Impressions of Indo-China," at the French Institute.

MISS BERTA BAKÉ on "Batiks of Java," at the Allied Circle.

MR. R. A. PARKER on "Tibet," at 25, Charles Street.

ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

The following additional lectures were arranged:

MR. ARTHUR UPHAM POPE on "An American view of the Indian Scene," at Overseas House (in conjunction with the East India Association).

DR. HTIN AUNG on "Anthropological Studies in Burma," at the Allied Circle.

MAJOR C. LESTOCK-REID on "The Koh-i-Noor Diamond and other Famous Indian Jewels," at 25, Charles Street.

MR. A. HOUGHTON BRODRICK on "The Origins of Pictorial Art" (in conjunction with the Royal Asiatic Society).

FILMS

There were four displays of films during the year under review:

INDIA: illustrative of the Dance and Music at the British Council Film Theatre.

BURMA: illustrative of the Ancient Cities at the Allied Circle.

ANGKOR: at the French Institute.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN: historic monuments at the British Council Film Theatre.

DANCE

Mr. Ram Gopal kindly gave a Private Recital of Bharata Natya—the Sacred Temple Dance Drama of Tanjore—prefaced by explanations with the traditional music of the Veena, Flute and Vocal Music, in the Film Theatre of the Imperial Institute.

DRAMA

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand spoke on "Survivals of the Folk Tradition in the Contemporary Indian Theatre" at China House.

RECEPTION

During the Conference of Prime Ministers in London a Reception was held at the Islamic Cultural Centre to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who was received by Sir William Barton, Vice-Chairman, and other members of the Council and the Society. The speeches delivered on this occasion are given in an Appendix.

An invitation to a Reception to meet the Prime Minister of India was also planned. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his reply to the President, expressed his regret that owing to the great pressure of his engagements he could not accept the invitation. He has since honoured the Society by becoming an Hon. Vice-President.

EXHIBITIONS

WATERCOLOURS by VISWANATHA NAGESHKAR at India House.

SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS by CHINTAMINI KAR at the French Institute.

FRESCOES FROM THE TEMPLES OF CEYLON AND ORIGINAL PAINTINGS by MANJUSRI.

PUBLICATIONS

Two issues of the Journal under its new title "Art and Letters: India and Pakistan," were published during the year.

GROUP

The Music Group has held a series of study meetings and has extended its membership.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The following new Vice-Presidents were elected at the last Annual Meeting:

H.R.H. Prince Dhani of Siam. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bt.

COUNCIL

Dr. Arnold Baké, Sir Norman Edgley, Mr. L. S. Elton, Mrs. Hendrey, Mr. Muizuddin Ahmed, Mr. E. H. Munsiff and Sir John Sargent were elected to the Council.

EXHIBITION IN THE PROVINCES

During the year Mr. Pendarves Lory organized a highly successful exhibition of Indian Art at the Winchester School of Arts and Crafts, where the literature of the Society was shown.

KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS

Arrangements for exchange facilities and co-operation have been arranged with the following kindred organizations:

Darpana, Ahmedabad; the Indian Insti-

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1948.

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	INCOME.		£	s.	d.
<i>To Publications:</i>								By Annual Subscriptions				
INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	..	447	14	8				" Post Office Savings Bank Interest	..			450 18 0
<i>Patna Paintings</i>	..	194	14	4				" Dividends on Investments (Net)	..			29 1 6
<i>An Introduction of Indian Art</i>	..	90	8	1				" Increase in Valuation of Stock of Books at	..			8 16 0
<i>An Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales</i>	..	44	2	0				December 31, 1948	..			387 16 3
<i>Conference of British Orientalists</i>	..	43	0	10				" Sales of Publications	..			442 3 11
<i>Less Forlong Fund</i>	..	10	0	0				" Special Contributions:				
<i>Illustration of Indian Art</i>	..	33	0	10				Government of Hyderabad	..	250	0	0
" General Printing	..	86	10	2				H.H. The Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda	..	99	16	0
" Books Purchased for Resale	..	53	16	9				Government of Mysore	..	10	0	0
" Refund of Contribution towards Cost	..				950	6	10	Sundry	..	87	2	11
" of <i>Patna Paintings</i>	..				117	0	0					
" <i>Lecture, Meeting and Exhibition:</i>												
H.H. The Maharajah Gackwar	..	99	16	0								
of Baroda's Lecture Fund	..	78	3	9								
General Lectures	..	177	19	9								
Exhibitions	..	153	12	10								
Receptions	..	49	15	1								
		381	7	8								
<i>Less Receipts</i>	..	16	3	0								
		365	4	8								
<i>Administration Expenses:</i>												
Secretary's Honorarium	..	100	0	0								
Clerical Assistance	..	20	0	0								
Rent of Office	..	50	0	0								
Lighting and Heating	..	5	0	3								
Insurance	..	1	10	7								
Telephone	..	5	9	1								
Secretary's Expenses	..	66	0	0								
Printing and Stationery	..	23	19	6								
General Postage	..	51	14	7								
Audit Fees	..	7	14	0								
Travelling Expenses	..	4	4	3								
Sundry Expenses	..	23	12	9								
Decrease in Valuation of Stock of Books	..											
Income Tax	..	10	7	0								
Corporation Duty	..											
		363	12	0								
		£1,796	3	6								

£1,796 3 6

BALANCE SHEET
AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1948.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Accumulated Fund:</i>							
Balance as at January 1, 1948	978	15	6			
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the Year	30	8	11			
		948	6	7			
		1,153	9	3			
Add Life Subscriptions				2,101	15	10
<i>Current Liabilities and Reserves:</i>							
Sundry Creditors	174	15	1			
Subscriptions paid in Advance	28	13	1			
Reserve for cost of printing book on Archaeology in Mysore	100	0	0			
Reserve for cost of printing book on Archaeology of Bikaner	2,275	0	0			
Amount due to the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in respect of Sales of the <i>Red Tortoise</i>	31	4	11			
					2,609	13	1
					£4,711	8	11
ASSETS.					£	s.	d.
<i>Current Assets:</i>							
Stock of Books				496	5	6
<i>Investments:</i>							
£400 Commonwealth of Australia 4 per cent. Registered Stock, 1955-70 (the Market Value at December 31, 1948, was £430)				378	11	0
Post Office Savings Bank				1,192	8	7
					2,067	5	1
<i>Payments in Advance and Sundry Debtors</i>					15	16	9
<i>Cash at Bank:</i>							
Current Accounts				181	9	11
H.H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda's Lecture Fund				2	0	0
Exhibition Account				55	12	2
Modern Indian Art for British Galleries Account				14	5	0
Mysore Account				100	0	0
Art and Architecture of Bikaner Account				2,275	0	0
					2,628	7	1
					£4,711	8	11

*Chairman, R. A. BUTLER.
Hon. Treasurer, FRANK BROWN.*

AUDITORS' REPORT TO MEMBERS

We report that we have examined the foregoing Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account dated December 31, 1948, with the books of the Society, and vouchers relating thereto, and have verified the Cash Balances. We are of the opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society, according to the best of our information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

October 27, 1949.

RUSHTON, OSBORNE AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

tute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation, Bombay; The Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore; The Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta; The All-India Fine Arts and Crafts

Society, New Delhi; The Indian Cultural Center, New York; The Asia Institute, New York; L'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, Paris.

APPENDIX

ROYAL INDIA AND PAKISTAN SOCIETY RECEPTION TO MEET THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN. ISLAMIC CULTURE CENTRE, OCTOBER 21, 1948.

DR. MOHAMED MAHDI ALLAM.—Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Islamic Cultural Centre in London, it has fallen to me as a privilege, to extend a most hearty welcome to your Excellency, in visiting our centre. (*Applause.*)

We are fully conscious of the honour you pay us by coming to our centre, as well as conscious of the courtesy of the Royal India and Pakistan Society in holding this reception at this centre.

All countries, including your own country, the youngest of them, support and uphold the principles of this centre and, as I know that your time is limited, I would like to say how delighted we are in welcoming in this, the youngest Islamic home, the Prime Minister of the youngest Islamic State.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON.—May I now, on behalf of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, extend a very warm welcome to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

It is extremely kind of him to find the time to come here. I assure him that we greatly appreciate his visit.

We all know that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is Prime Minister of Pakistan, the new Dominion and the greatest of all Muslim states of the world. He has had a very brilliant career. Few statesmen have had to face the difficulties he has had to meet since he became Prime Minister. He has met them all with great courage and resource and has done very much

to build up the security and strength, economic and otherwise, of Pakistan.

His presence here today leads us to hope that he will take an interest in this society. I might say that now that the political link is broken we hope there may be formed a still stronger cultural link to keep us together. Culture knows no frontiers.

We of the West feel that we owe a great debt to Muslim scholars, in keeping alive the glories of Greece and Rome in the dark days of the Middle Ages of Europe.

Pakistan shares in this great cultural heritage; it shares especially in the great heritage of India. The magnificent monuments of Muslim architecture in that great country are the admiration of the whole world. Perhaps the most beautiful of them are in the Indian Dominion; but there is never doubt that India will appreciate them and see to their upkeep. On the other hand, in Pakistan there are relics of ancient culture—Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, Taxila, for example. Pakistan will take care of them.

We shall hope to interest the British public in the field of Islamic culture, with particular reference to Pakistan, to get in touch with Indian and Pakistan students. We hope they will attend our meetings.

We are very interested to hear that Pakistan has started a cultural survey and that they are setting up their own archaeological department. If we can help, we shall be only

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too delighted to do so. We do not encroach on politics, but I do not think that I shall be trespassing on that field if I say how very much we hope Pakistan will become a prominent and outstanding member of the Commonwealth of Nations, whether we call it "British" or not—and that we shall co-operate in bringing East and West closely together and in that way perhaps help in the progress of the world.

THE HON. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN.—I am indeed very grateful to the Royal India and Pakistan Society and the Islamic Cultural Centre for the welcome they have given me, and I am grateful to all of you for honouring me by your presence here this afternoon.

Pakistan has rightly been described as the youngest of Muslim States, although it is the largest Muslim State in the world and the fifth largest of all the States of the world.

Being the youngest, it is the privilege of youth to have enthusiasm, confidence and determination. My friend has been kind enough to compliment me on what has been achieved in Pakistan. We undoubtedly faced, at the very birth of our State, such difficult and tragic problems that I do not think any State in the world was able to face. When it started, it literally did not have even chairs and tables, pencil and paper in its offices.

I remember that on the fifth day of August, 1947, when we were celebrating our Day of Independence, one of the American correspondents remarked that it reminded him of the last Great War. He said, "It is really unbelievable how you are starting this State, with what little resources and with what difficulties," and he said that it reminded him of the last war because, "during that war, you used to push up a tent and called it the Headquarters of the Division. Your start in Pakistan was in the nature of that."

We have gone through terrible times, but let me tell you that the credit is not due to me or to my Government. The credit is due to my people. (*Applause.*) It was their faith,

their courage and their determination that got us through that, and it is that faith, courage and determination that I have no doubt will make Pakistan as one of the biggest nations of the world.

The Commonwealth of Nations is a great institution. Since the three new Dominions have come in, the face of the Commonwealth is changed, and I think that today this Commonwealth, which represents more than 500,000,000 people of the world, can make a very great contribution to the world maintenance of peace and the progress of this harassed world.

What we have to do is to come closer together, to work as if we were members of one family. I have no doubt that since these three new Dominions have come in, as I said, the face of the Commonwealth has changed. It is no longer a family of one race, it is a family of one people, who believe in the same way of life and who believe in the same principles of democracy.

To my mind, these qualities have got greater unifying force today than mere racial affinities, and, therefore, I say that the Commonwealth has a very important rôle to play in this world, and I hope that we shall, all of us who are members of the Commonwealth, recognize that while we have privileges, we have responsibilities as well, not only to each other but to the whole world. This institution is here and, if we go about it in the right way, we can work this institution in a manner that it will contribute largely to the maintenance of peace in the world and to the progress of mankind. I am indeed very grateful to all of you for welcoming me here this afternoon and for affording me an opportunity of meeting all our friends here.

I only want to tell you, on behalf of Pakistan, that Pakistan wants peace and friendship with every nation of the world—and you who are here are very near to us, because we belong to the same family, and I hope that in time to come the bond that exists between us will become stronger and stronger.

I thank you.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, November 10, at 6 p.m., at 25, Charles Street, Mayfair, W.1, and was presided over by the Right Hon. R. A. BUTLER, M.P.

THE CHAIRMAN announced with great regret that Lady Ravensdale was in a nursing home and it was unanimously agreed to send her a message of sympathy. Sir William Barton, the other Vice-Chairman, was abroad, and the Chairman paid a tribute to the great work he had been doing for the Society.

THE CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, drew attention to the great variety of information given out by the Society on the culture of the two Dominions as shown by the multiplicity of subjects dealt with in lectures, exhibitions, film and dance displays, and the activities of the Music Circle. He was especially pleased by the encouragement given to young artists, and the close liaison that had been established with kindred organizations overseas. Mr. Butler then referred to the reception that had been held in honour of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. A reception had been offered to Pandit Nehru, who had been unable to accept the invitation owing to his appointments, but he had shown his interest in the Society's work by becoming a Life Member and an Hon. Vice-President.

THE CHAIRMAN also expressed his thanks to the British Council for their co-operation, and particularly to Sir John Sargent for his constant help and advice. He hoped that in the coming year similar liaison would be established with Unesco.

In the discussion on the Report that followed the hope was expressed that there would be still further opportunities of seeing dancing, as that was an art which appealed to a wide circle in this country. It was suggested that contact might be established with Service Associations, and with the Royal Anthropological Institute. Mr. Butler suggested that the Report was so good that an article on the Society's work might be prepared

for the Press: He drew attention to the highly important lecture on "Indian Influences in South-east Asia" that had been delivered by Dr. Reginald le May, and said that he had been so impressed with it that he had sent it to Mr. Nehru inviting his attention to it. He hoped that it would be widely read.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by DR. LE MAY and the motion was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN then called on the Hon. Treasurer to present the accounts.

SIR FRANK BROWN explained that as three issues of the Journal had been paid for during the year, that accounted for the increase in this item of expenditure from £281 to £447.

The payment for printing *Patna Paintings* had been completed.

Two other books had been issued for general sale—*An Introduction to Indian Art* and *Illustrations of Indian Art*—and cost £176. Sales from these copies would be spread over several years: the stock had been valued and appeared in the balance sheet.

The annual subscriptions had remained constant. There had been a welcome increase in the sale of publications from £257 to £442. The general administration expenses had remained the same.

The Society was again indebted to the Hyderabad and Baroda Governments for their contributions of £250 and £100. There had also been sundry donations of smaller amounts, including one from Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir.

The year ended with an excess of expenditure over income of £30, compared with £170 in the previous year.

Gratification was expressed at these results of the year's working.

THE CHAIRMAN moved and MR. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., seconded the adoption of the accounts, and the motion was carried unanimously.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE CHAIRMAN proposed the re-election of the following Members of Council:

Mr. L. S. Elton, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. Basil Gray, Lady Hutton, Mr. Lawson-Reece, Sir Harry Lindsay, Mr. Polak, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Miss Sunday Wilshin;

and the election of the following new members of the Council:

Mr. W. Archer, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake.

Mr. Archer was the new Curator of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, after a distinguished career in the Diplomatic Service, had been prominent in cultural work in South America. He was now visiting the two Dominions on a lecture tour, and having become a member of the Society and been greatly struck by our work, had very generously agreed to act at the same time as the Society's Ambassador. Mr. Butler would like to take this opportunity of thanking him for his very kind gesture, and added that he could not think of a better emissary.

DR. BAKÉ seconded and they were elected unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN proposed the election of the following new Vice-Presidents:

Professor R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Mr. N. P. Chakravarti.

MR. PENDARVES LORY seconded, and they were elected *nem. con.*

THE CHAIRMAN moved the re-election of Sir Frank Brown as Hon. Treasurer and Mr. F. Richter as Hon. Secretary, and paid a tribute to their energy and enterprise. He thought that few organizations had the good fortune to be served so devotedly and, he would add, so economically as the Royal India and Pakistan Society, and thanked them warmly for their work. The motion was seconded by MR. SOLOMON and carried by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN moved the re-election of Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co., Chartered Accountants, as auditors of the Society's accounts for the ensuing year.

DR. LE MAY seconded and they were re-elected.

The proceedings then terminated.

STUDY CIRCLE FOR ORIENTAL MUSIC¹

IT gives me very great pleasure to say something at the opening of this new session of the Study Circle for Oriental Music of the Royal India and Pakistan Society. The programme is before you, and from it you see that we hope to cover a very large field, for the first time reaching outside the boundaries of the Indian subcontinent, westwards to Egypt and eastward to Siam and Indonesia.

This is really a formidable enterprise. Oriental music is a very wide term and we do well to realize that it comprises at least two completely different worlds, even within the limits of what we have in mind this season. The Near and the Middle East, as

far as the eastern borders of India, can be said to belong to one world, and at the other side of the eastern border of the Indian subcontinent begins the other, totally different world, to which Siam and Indonesia belong. The two worlds have occasionally exercised influence upon one another—about which I hope to say something later on—but we must be very clear in our mind that the two, for all their being brought under the heading Oriental music, have really nothing whatsoever in common.

What do we hope to get out of this study, apart from æsthetic pleasure which in many instances can and will be considerable? There is one thing we can safely say of the music

¹ Inaugural address of Dr. A. A. Baké to the members of the Circle on November 26, 1949.

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under consideration—a thing we could not maintain when talking about modern Western music—that it is an integral part of the culture of the countries of origin and that consequently in trying to understand this expression of civilization we shall come nearer to understand the culture as a whole, which is a very important and worth while thing. Secondly, in pursuing mutual influences, we shall get glimpses of currents of civilization coming to the surface and disappearing again, which may give indications of historical happenings otherwise practically unknown.

This is what Dr. Kunst aptly calls “cultural geology.” He records (p. 2) that “on analyzing the music in a given territory, and on examination of the instruments in use, one is sometimes struck by the fact of a noticeable stratification. Some evidently cultural remnant may still linger on the surface, almost swamped by a younger stratum, which itself has not remained quite unaffected either. It is possible in some cases to arrive at a reasonably documented relative chronology.” He himself has given most remarkable instances of this kind of musical research in his “Music in Java,” which has just appeared in English, to which I shall have to refer often in the course of what I want to say to-night.

We can look at the music of the countries we have in mind from two angles, the contemporary and the historical. In the first case I am afraid we shall be faced with a not too exhilarating spectacle. Modern developments are not, generally speaking, very promising. What we see in India—I have no personal experience of Egypt—and further East, notably China and Indonesia, is very much the same in essence, a phenomenon Dr. Kunst calls “regression.” It is quite evident that in the course of history all the different kinds of music have undergone outside influences, we have only to think of the Mohamedan period in India. Chinese sources speak of notes being introduced by musicians in the train of an Empress hailing from foreign parts. Indonesia has had its Hindu colonization and waves of Chinese fashions. But what Kunst says about the present condition of the

music of Indonesia is true everywhere else in the East, I am afraid. “Once again foreign influences are affecting it, but this time the interloper is not a more or less kindred culture, not even one that could share with the civilizations of the archipelago the collective appellation ‘eastern,’ but one of an utterly alien nature, one which not only modifies the existing cultural values without stimulating the organism it influences, but, like a corrosive acid, like a transfusion from a different blood-group, attacks and destroys it in its profound essence. European-American civilization is so utterly foreign to the Indonesian cultures that it cannot be assimilated by them; at best—and then only in its lower forms—it might be a substitute; whilst at the same time this civilization is, in the nature of its being so aggressive and expansionist that it cannot be rejected or warded off either” (pp. 3 and 4).

As I said this is true anywhere in the East. We have heard it in India and some of us may have heard the horrors that have come out of modern China, a country with a so far, unbroken musical culture stretching several thousands of years back. So the study of the modern aspects would not be a thing that carried us very far except along the path of almost pathological changes.

Fortunately, in India as well as elsewhere, there are centres which have realized the dangers and are resisting the degeneration, and seem to have within themselves the strength for regeneration. It is from those centres that we must draw our information, if we want to understand the music in its purity.

In India we often meet the conviction that, because of the strong Hindu-Buddhist influence in Java and Sumatra evident in a hundred instances in literature and language, sculpture and dancing, the culture of Indonesia is nothing but an off-shoot of that of India and that, properly speaking, the islands should belong to India. Leaving aside the peculiarly Indonesian way in which all these different above-mentioned elements have been taken up and developed by the people of the archipelago, which make them often hardly recognizable as Indian, we find that, in spite

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of the borrowing of instruments, such as the winarāvanahasta and the tāravansa and perhaps the rabana—still found in daily use in Ceylon—the spirit of the Indonesian music is utterly and basically different from what we know in India. To begin with, the tone system used there is such that not one note actually coincides with the Indian scale, or, for that matter, with the scale we use in Europe. We sometimes may think we hear intervals that seem familiar, but they are always a bit out. Let me give you an instance of a record—a Balinese example—which gives a first impression of a likeness, but gradually the realization grows that not one note has the pitch that it should have had in our scale.

Od. 204780a

Actually, seen from an Indonesian standpoint, this record might almost be called a freak. It was, of course, taken from a genuine gamelan orchestra, but it seems to me one would have to travel far to find one tuned exactly like that.

The general Javanese scale is very different from that, whichever of the two tone-characters one listens to. The one is a heptatonic system—sometimes with two degrees missing from the scale—called pélog, and if you think that our way of dividing the octave into seven tones and semitones, in whatever sequence you want, is the only possible one, you will change your mind when you listen to this heptatonic scale by a gamelan orchestra of Djogjakarta, the capital of one of the two principalities and a stronghold of pure Javanese music.

Babar Layar B. 15007 II

Strange to say, the other tone-character, the sléndro, a pentatonic scale, gives a much less surprisingly and strikingly alien effect, I think, at least, you will find that also when you hear it. It is again played by musicians of the Sultan's palace, the Kraton, in Dyogya, but on a set of instruments tuned to the Sléndro scale. It is only the very well-to-do who can afford to have a double set of instruments; the people generally speaking,

have either the one or the other, and it is this very distribution of each respective tone-character that has furnished Dr. Kunst with most illuminating historical data.

Here is the record.

B. 15007 I, Sri Harshana

Personally, I think this is incredibly lovely and creating a quite entrancing atmosphere.

The Javanese people themselves say that the Sléndro scale is the oldest, and their legends ascribe it to a legendary king in the fourth or fifth century in our era. The pélog came—according to local tradition—very much later, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. One would be generally inclined to place a certain amount of trust in the local legends, especially when they are so persistent, but Dr. Kunst reverses the order and has established what I think is a very good case, that the pélog is the original one and that sléndro came in vogue only with the Çailendras, the founders of a mighty empire from the sixth century onwards. He points out that wherever the sléndro is much in evidence one can prove a strong influence of that empire or its descendants, whereas the pélog has held its own in inaccessible places like deep forests or high mountain villages.

Now the questions are unavoidable. Where did the Javanese get this scale from? What is the origin of it? It is quite clear that this scale is not, like ours, based on pure consonance—that is to say, a scale derived from the partials that sound when a note is struck, the octave, the fifth and the third to start with.

In spite of this being likely to lead us for a moment into a terrifying field of acoustics and mathematics, the issue is such a wonderful illustration of this very cultural geology—and hence fully within the scope of the subject under consideration—that I feel I must say a few words about it, keeping myself to the barest essentials.

Some thirty years ago Professor von Hornbostel developed his theory of a scale derived from a succession of blown fifths, basing his scheme on data found in ancient

Chinese books. These fifths were heard in the harmonics when stopped bamboo flutes of a certain length were blown and overblown. Now these fifths were appreciably smaller than our fifths (678 cents in a blow as to 702 cents in a pure consonant fifth, the octave requiring 1200 cents). Whereas we in our system get back to a note practically the same as the one we started from, only a few octaves higher, after having gone twelve steps of a fifth, the Chinese system needs twenty-three of those smaller fifths before it reaches the equivalent of an octave. I need not go into detail, but the remarkable fact presents itself that we find a surprising number of scales in actual use which are practically identical with the notes obtained from this gigantic cycle of twenty-three blown fifths, among others the Javanese scales, both pélog and sléndro.

What makes this fact so astonishing is, that von Hornbostel's scale took as its starting-point the standard pitch of the ancient Chinese Empire, a tube of the length of 230 mm. (sometimes 227 or 233) and a diameter of 8.12 mm., and that the scale tied to this apparently arbitrarily cut tube is found not only in China, Java and Bali, but in Central Africa, Siam, Burma, in the Melanesian and the Polynesian archipelago, and even in north-west Brazilian and Peruvian pan-pipes. One of the last-mentioned kind, a pan-pipe with sixteen tubes, gives sixteen successive steps of this Chinese cycle of blown fifths, which is more than coincidence ever could have produced.

It was discovered that this Chinese pipe of 230 mm. was—von Hornbostel says became—the standard measure not only in China but also in Sumer in about 2600 B.C., and perhaps in Egypt as well at about the same time. Now, here I think von Hornbostel and his successors have put the cart before the horse. It was not the standard pipe which became the standard measure, but the standard measure was adopted for the pipe, and the tone given by that pipe was the basic tone from which all others were derived, because for some hitherto unknown reason these 230 mm. represented something divine and cosmic,

perhaps the foot of some deity. After all 230 mm. is only 2 or 3 inches shorter than our standard foot. That it was something divine and cosmic is borne out by the fact that each successive Chinese dynasty started its reign by re-establishing by careful calculation the exact length of this huang-chong tube in order that it might save the dynasty instead of becoming the cause of its ruin, as had been the case with the preceding dynasty. It was quite clear that its downfall was due to a deviation from the standard measure and the standard tone.

It will remain an enigma for many a year to come, how this excessively sophisticated and scientific scale—deviating as it does from the natural laws of consonance—became the current scale among peoples who presumably did not belong culturally to the same world as the ancient Chinese. Peru, China and Central Africa seem a long way removed from one another in space and in cultural level. But there it is, an undeniable fact. As far as the Indonesian archipelago is concerned, recent investigations by Father Rozing, a missionary, have brought to light primitive stages, where the people, recognizing the octave—which does not initially play a part in the Chinese system—then reach the fifth by blowing, not by consonance as we do, which would prepare the ground for the adoption of the system in its more sophisticated form. Besides there is a more experimental way in which to reach the cycle of blown fifths and that is by cutting each successive reed or tube to three-quarters or two-thirds, which in a rough-and-ready way would lead to similar results as the later highly specialized calculations.

Evidence of contacts—at least with the sphere from which perhaps the ancient Chinese beliefs in the importance of the maintenance of the standard tone themselves have sprung—we find “in Bougainville in the Solomon Islands, where the pitches of the sacred pan-pipes are transferred each year in solemn fashion, and to the accompaniment of a ceremonial dance, to a small number of newly manufactured instruments. The same in Java. There too, the scale of certain game-

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lans was—and even is to this day—considered desirable and worthy of being imitated above the others, as for example that of the very old gamelan sléndro Layam of the Regent of Tasikmalaya, and of one of the two three-tone gamelans mungang of the Susuhunan of Solo which are probably much older still ” (p. 48).

We are left to absolute conjecture if we try to explain the presence of these scales not on pan-pipes but on xylophone-like instruments in Central Africa. One conjecture is that the inhabitants may have adopted them from Indonesian traders in the early centuries of our Christian era when there was a great deal of intercourse between Africa and the Indonesian archipelago (Javanese envoys presenting Chinese emperors with African treasures, for instance). Another possibility might be Egypt if, at least, the contention about the standard measure and consequently standard pipe in Sumer and Egypt is true. There is no doubt that there was a great deal of contact between Egypt and the East and that the oldest form of the Indian Vina is nothing but the Egyptian bow harp—called bin, incidentally—as is borne out by the oldest Indian reliefs. So here we are in the midst of a whole world of international intercourse which would have not been surmised but for the discovery of this most peculiar musical scale and, eventually, the presence of very specialized instruments in widely separated countries. The Egyptian bow harp is also found on reliefs in Java.

There is consequently not the slightest doubt that musically this culture of the archipelago is connected as closely as possible with the Chinese sphere—to give it a very approximate name. The orchestras you have heard have their counterpart in Siam, for instance, as you will easily recognize when you listen to the following.

B. 37036

Even in the way of using the voice and in

succession of intervals we find close parallels within the boundaries of this enormous circle of musical culture. I want to play you two records, one from the Western part of Java, the Sunda country, the other from Japan. In both instances it is a voice accompanied by a flute and a plucked string instrument, and the sequence of notes, the underlying scale and even mode is identical in both instances.

O 4491 b and B. 37034 b.

If I play you an Indian vocal record immediately after this you will feel how completely we have moved into another and entirely different world.

O 5167 b—a north Indian singer.

Please compare this with an Egyptian-Arabic record and you will see why I classed the two together at the beginning of my talk.

O 5168 b

In what I have said I have tried to give you glimpses of the kind of things we are likely to meet when we begin to occupy ourselves with the music loosely labelled “Oriental music,” the fascinating problems, the sudden glimpses of beauty and the points of similarity and difference.

Let me finish by giving you an Indian record, of a North Indian vina player, not the Egyptian bow-harp, but a later form, a straight bamboo body resting on two gourds, and in this instance without frets. The notes are formed by pressing down the strings on the finger-board by an ebony cylinder, which gives the player scope for delicate micro-tonal ornamentation and pronounced legato and slurs, much beloved in the execution of music in India. Please listen to the fascinating use of alternate flat and natural notes.

Bicitra bin Pilu

I hope that with these introductory remarks I have cleared the decks for real action.

THE TEMPLES OF ANGKOR¹

FIFTEEN YEARS OF RECONSTRUCTION

By MAURICE GLAIZE

(Translated from the French by Dr. Reginald le May)

BEFORE the war we used to receive between four and five thousand visitors to Angkor annually, mostly Anglo-Saxons, and whenever I had the opportunity of showing parties of them round the extensive archæological domain of Angkor I always prefaced my remarks by telling them briefly something about the cultural organization of which it formed part—namely, the French School of the Far East.

Today such a precaution would be unnecessary, thanks to the remarkable lecture given in this same hall by its Director, M. Georges Cordès, only a few weeks ago. But I cannot forget that it is entirely due to M. Cordès that I was personally enabled, during the ten years from 1936 to 1946, to carry on the work of my predecessors, MM. Commaillie, Marchal and Trouvé, and to set the seal on the methods of reconstruction used in restoring ruined buildings, which had already been designed and put into force by the Dutch in Java with such incomparable success.

During the hour allotted to me, by means of the facts which I shall relate as well as by pictures on the screen, I hope to be able to convince you of both the importance and the quality of the archæological work accomplished during the last half-century in French Indo-China by this band of disinterested scholars known by the name of the French School of the Far East.

THE INDIAN INFLUENCE

Tonight I shall speak to you only of Cambodia, that country of the Indo-Chinese Union which is the most intimately

connected with the civilization of India, a civilization familiar to all of you here.

If one may give credit to local legends, the ancient dynasties of the Khmer kingdom drew their origin from the union of a Hindu prince, Prean Thong, who was banished from Delhi by his father, with a “serpent-woman,” the daughter of a Naga king, who was lord of this country. Of radiant beauty, she appeared to him as she was disporting herself on a sandy beach, where he had camped for the night, and eventually she agreed to take him for her husband. The Naga king thereupon dried up the region by drinking the water surrounding it and erected a capital city, calling the new empire Kambuja.

Several other versions, furnished by inscriptions or by popular tradition, do not deprive this legend either of its mythical sense or of its essential truth—namely, that the Khmer race was born of two distinct elements, Indian and autochthonous.

There is no authority for believing, as some suppose, in the arrival, as the result of migrations, of a purely Indian people, who either settled in a country devoid of inhabitants or who extirpated the local aborigines by massacres or mass deportations. The Khmer race is, without doubt, a mixed Indian-aboriginal one. It appears likely that the Indian contribution is the consequence of a natural expansion eastwards, covering the spheres of commerce, culture and religion, rather than the fruit of a policy of annexation by force of arms.

In the field of architecture the structure of Khmer art is also demonstrably clear, and here, if India may be regarded as the source, the part it has played is more of a fertilizing

¹ Lecture delivered to the Society at the French Institute, London.

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than of a creative nature. India has imposed upon it the directing force and the framework, as well as certain traditions and restraints; but in receiving all these contributions into their fold, the Khmer have added their own genius and, in the execution of their ideas, have retained a strong personality of their own. You will be able to judge of this when you see the slides I am showing this evening.

THE ANASTYLOSE METHOD

But it is time that I came to the heart of my theme—namely, the archæological work of the School in the region of Angkor, and more especially the restoration of the ruined monuments to their former state by the method to which I have referred above and which is called “Anastylose.”

I must apologize for having to introduce my subject under such a harsh-sounding name. I willingly admit that “Anastylose” is a tough kind of word, and all the more difficult to swallow by devotees of Khmer art because of its Mediterranean origin. From its etymology, it implies the idea of a column replaced in its vertical position, whereas in Cambodia, as in India, the ancient architecture makes no use of the column, at any rate as an essential element in construction.

Someone has asked me, not without irony, whether, in the same way that anachronism is a sin against chronology, this “Anastylose” method does not involve the risk of some error in style. Another, still more cruel, has seen fit to derive the word from that honourable beast whose jaw-bone was used by Samson to destroy the Philistines.

Be reassured. I am too fond of simple words to bore my audience with feats of erudition and will try my best to abstain from the use of esoteric terms. I shall only retain the word because of the discipline enforced upon me by my profession, and I can assure you that my enthusiasm for it is confined solely to the methods it signifies.

In the Far East the “Anastylose” method covers the whole of the building concerned, including the walls, arches, columns, sanctuaries and galleries, cloisters and graduated

temples called “Mountain Temples”—heavenly mounts where the celebrant communicated directly with the gods.

M. Balanos, the Keeper of the Acropolis monuments at Athens, has described “Anastylose” as follows: “The ‘Anastylose’ method consists in the rebuilding of a monument with its own original materials, according to the system of construction peculiar to each. It also allows the discreet use of new material to replace missing stones, without which the ancient form of the building could not be restored in its entirety.”

THE RAVAGES OF TIME

There was a time when, owing to Colonial Exhibitions and a lack of suitable advertisement, Angkor appeared to the general public as nothing but the quincunx of towers of the Great Temple, the many sanctuaries with four faces in the Bayon, representing a strange art, and certain statues of the Leper King. Everybody today knows that it is not a question of a single building, but of a mass of buildings, a succession of temples distributed throughout a vast forest covering an area of 4,000 hectares (approximately 10,000 acres)—three-quarters of the surface of Paris—in which are to be found twenty monuments of major importance. These monuments, served by 35 kilometers of roads (22 miles), are arranged at intervals on the inside of a 25-kilometer circuit called “the Grand Circuit,” and cover the reigns of more than twenty kings (from the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D.), who have endeavoured to express their might and glory by these magnificent examples of religious architecture—which alone at that time was deemed worthy of durable materials.

Angkor Thom, the last capital of the Khmer, covered no less than 900 hectares (2,200 acres), while the Great Temple of Angkor alone, counting its moat-basins, covered at least 200 hectares (500 acres).

In tropical regions, particularly, buildings grow old like human beings with the action of centuries if not of years, and, like so many parasites, the branches and roots of enor-

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mous, hundred-year-old trees attack the substance of the stone, drive their claws into the mortarless joints, and cause so many dangerous fissures and wounds as to lead to their total collapse and to the erection on the ground of a vast heap of rubble.

Gradually the greedy vegetation eats up the building and sucks out its very essence, at the same time leaving it an appearance of life under a network of creepers; for, even if the roots sometimes hold up what they have already disembowelled, it is but an artificial binding together which proves of short duration.

When, as a result of her treaty with Siam, France took charge in 1907 of the enormous archæological domain of Angkor, still unexplored, this great "ensemble," which is unique in the world, had attracted the attention of only a few explorers and savants.

Subjected since the fifteenth century to struggles with the jungle, rather than a victim of the unloosing of human passions—since the warlike means of destruction of those days appear to us today as singularly harmless—the monumental religious skeleton of this city still shows in its entirety, more or less mutilated, and lacking only in perishable structures, such as the palaces and dwelling-houses, which were built of wood.

PRELIMINARY OPERATION

A double preliminary operation was necessary, first to permit of an approach to the buildings, and secondly to make a more or less summary study of them.

During twenty-five years we had to be content with clearing the sites and determining the state of the buildings, and then with "fixing" them by means of beams and props in reinforced concrete, as well as with girdles and cramps. This prudence in dealing with the problem has been amply justified when we compare it with the abuse made in France itself during the nineteenth century of far too audacious methods of restoration. In a way the problem was attacked in a manner savouring of a medical approach—namely, by applying splints to the patient while awaiting the surgeon.

The archæologist has a great sense of respect for what exists no longer, not because it belongs to the past—that is to say, is something which is dead—but because of the latent life which still breathes in it, of what has been called the "ancient survival." It is for him to bring this spark back to life, this youthful element which lives for ever, the soul of the old stones.

To snatch this battered ruin from death there is no other way open to the archæologist than to disinter its blocks of sandstone, to shelter them from the caprices of nature, to wash them and clean them, and finally to bring them together again in their own pristine form, without leaving his own mark upon them.

The "Anastylose" method allows of this, without turning the archæologist into an innovator or a builder, and yet his professional life remains full of enthusiasm, since it devotes him to the restoration of masterpieces, and owing to a rigorous discipline, prevents him from going astray. There is no question here of "building anew" or of acting as "Engineer of the Past," but of transfusing new blood into old and sick things, and of resetting broken limbs. Then the building throws away its crutches, laughs at its infirmities and never doubts any longer that it is young again—truly a magical operation, based on a sure synthesis.

The "Anastylose" method is not a process of restoration, but a true reconstruction of the ancient building. After he has re-assembled the scattered pieces, the architect must find out their position in the scheme and their essential function. In the absence of any documentary evidence regarding the original form of the monument, his skill lies in discovering the motive of each of its different elements, and of projecting himself into the mind of the man who conceived it. His task, therefore, is by no means solely a mechanical one, but is based on logic and truth in his search for beauty.

This logic and truth which lie in a building—qualities so dear to the French character and spirit—are often difficult to locate in Khmer art where the builder, inspired by symbolic forms, makes no attempt to deceive

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by means of illusion and seldom oversteps the bounds of probability. On the other hand, one's task is made easier by the essentially traditional character of the building and the constant distribution of its fundamental elements.

Being as much an astrologer and visionary as he was an architect, the Khmer builder was subject to the immutable laws of religious discipline, and the work shows a unity which allows of its survival today. Doubtless this survival will not be eternal: gradually the slow but relentless decomposition of the stones, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, will alter the architectural contour of the reconstructed monuments, will make their profile less outstanding, will affect the vigour of their ornamentation, and will ultimately consume them until they share the fate of sand castles and all other human works. None the less, they are assured of a life even longer than their original state would have allowed them, thanks to the modern architect being able to correct many faults in construction, due to the technical ignorance of the Khmer in the art of building in hard stone.

THE BANTEAY SREI EXPERIMENT

The "Anastylose" method, already in vogue in Greece as well as in Java, where the example set by the Dutch has been definitely confirmed after twenty preparatory years of trial and error, has been in use in Cambodia since 1931. It was in this year that my predecessor, Henri Marchal, on his return from an archaeological mission to the Dutch East Indies, was entrusted by our Director, Georges Cœdès, with the task of making a trial of this method at Banteay Srei. The complete success of his work there convinced even the most sceptical of critics opposed to all new ideas, and at once transformed the working methods of the French School of the Far East in the realm of archæology. It has enabled me, during the course of my residence at Angkor from 1936 to 1946, interrupted solely by a few months' occupation by the Japanese, to continue the good work and the new type of reconstruction.

OUTLINE OF METHODS USED

The necessary work may be divided into four phases:

- (1) Clearing the site.
- (2) Sorting out the materials from the ruined buildings, and reconstruction on the ground of the different architectural elements.
- (3) Dismantling those parts still standing.
- (4) Reconstruction of the whole.

The preliminary operations involved in clearing the site remain the same as before: only they are conceived on a larger scale and in fact become a thorough preparation of the area concerned, where the clearance as well as the removal of the vegetation is of a general nature.

Long before man acquired the knowledge, nature has been well aware of the technique of destruction; and certain trees, like the silk-cotton tree—a typical example of vegetable savagery—grow even on the coping of stone buildings, supporting themselves against the columns with all the strength of their tentacles, like the fabulous hydras of old.

Their stems spread themselves out in rows on the arches like monsters sitting with their feet hanging down, while their smooth, glossy trunks tower towards heaven in one straight shoot.

Unfortunately it is impossible to preserve these choice specimens, but, in the mass of buildings crowding together, one cannot attack the tree from its root upwards, as one would in the forest, by planning the direction of its fall. One must begin at the top by lopping off the main branches and lowering them with ropes, and finally cut up the base of the trunk in sections. The wood-cutters work in pairs, perched on light wooden platforms raised 30 or 40 meters above the ground (100 to 130 feet).

Three or four weeks are needed to fell a tree of great height, and the remains are burnt on the spot.

When the ground has been cleared to the

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level of the ancient paving-stones, which have disappeared under the rubbish and piled-up earth, all the tree roots, which have insinuated themselves between the joints or have penetrated the naked earth, are torn out, and the soil is removed outside the precincts by carts or baskets. Once it has thus been cleared to its foundations, the ruined monument appears in its entirety and its state is capable of being fixed, either by photograph or by a plan-drawing.

When the stones have been recovered from the cleared site, some of which, found in the ruined portions of the building, present at times a hopeless chaotic mass, they are carefully sorted out, special notice being taken of the direction of their natural fall, and placed together again as far as possible according to their original situation and storey, or classified in categories of decoration and moulding.

The fundamental elements of the building—the doors and false-doors, pillars and angle-columns, lintels, pediments, plinths and cornices, the crowning motifs of the towers—all are scrupulously reconstructed on the ground.

The identification of each block of stone is made either by the comparison of outlines and sculptured fragments which are still decipherable, or by the disposition of the joints and of the heights of the courses. The irregularity shown in the dressing of the stone, due to the method employed by the Khmer of rubbing the blocks, and the entire absence of mortar, makes the task somewhat easier, especially when it is a question of the uniting of decorated fragments.

This presentation of the building storey by storey is completed provisionally either by props or struts, or by the use of new unworked stones, cut to order, which fill all vacant spaces and are substituted temporarily for fragments that appear doubtful. Here also photography is of great value in providing data for use in replacing the stones, assisted by architectural drawings suitable for guiding the foreman mason, but of little value to the simple coolies who are only accustomed to work "on the heap."

If we turn now to the ruins of buildings still standing, whose condition, due to the subsidence of the foundations and the action of tree roots, demands a complete restoration, these are first surrounded by scaffolding. The scaffolding, made of poles and logs cut in the forest and joined together by fibre bands without the aid of any rope or metal pin, supports as many platforms as are necessary to obviate the necessity of bringing the blocks of stone down to earth. The reason for this is that space is generally lacking for putting them together on the ground. The placing of the stones, which have been duly numbered to avoid any possibility of confusion during the reconstruction, is carried out course by course, the ruinous parts being held up by props. The faulty methods of the Khmer, who were accustomed to build in vertical lines without any overlapping of the joints, made, indeed, of each section of the wall a series of heaps of stones which had neither attachment nor stability.

The interior rubble behind the stones—usually of laterite, a porous kind of stone like our millstone—is taken to pieces conformably with the facing of sandstone. Each stone is scraped, rubbed and washed, and in the end the building is disposed in layers in the immediate proximity of its original setting, ready for reconstruction.

This reconstruction, which is constantly controlled by photographs and drawings made beforehand, is carried out in accordance with the ancient technique, without any repairs being done to the moulding, either of the decoration or of the sculpture; the missing stones, or those too much damaged, are merely replaced by rough blocks cut to measure.

In fact, the object is solely to make quite sure of the stability of the building, and, in re-forming the outline of the different motifs employed, not to break the play of light and shade.

No mortar is used in the obvious joints, but sometimes, in case of need, a solder of cement is poured into the interior rubble in order to reinforce the uniting of the elements, a result usually obtained by the placing of several iron braces sunk in the thickness of the

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walls. The belting-course, unknown to the Khmer, thus becomes exact, giving the building every guarantee of durability, and the reinforced concrete appears only in the form of framework or supporting beams, making one with the masonry.

It must be understood that the reconstruction is carried only to a point when one is no longer able to work with certainty, and the monument remains incomplete from the point where the stones which have been found become insufficient for the purpose, or if their identification is doubtful; in that case they are temporarily left in rows at the foot of the monument.

This method of "Anastylose" is clearly inapplicable to sanctuaries built of brick, for it is impossible to discover the exact place of each brick dug out of the ground. For fear of "creating anew," repairs to these buildings must be limited to filling gaps or consolidating the details.

One cannot insist too much on the fact that these works of "Anastylose," entailing a very delicate technique, are executed at Angkor under the control of the Keeper—the sole European—by simple Cambodian coolies who are *not* specialists. Fortunately they have preserved the habits of mind of their ancestors and build as they did, entirely by instinct. It is wonderful to see them, as they encourage one another by loud cries, like all good Orientals, lifting the heaviest loads, carrying them on the shoulder hanging from two bamboo poles, hauling them up the ramps of logs, and lifting them by relays of tackle to a height of some 20 meters (65 feet). The foremen, who have been chosen from among them and have been patiently trained to their work, direct the coolies conscientiously, interest themselves in the work, and at times attain a true mastery of the method. They are, indeed, extremely valuable assistants, and never have recourse to the whip, very much unlike their predecessors of ancient days, if we may believe the scenes represented on the bas-reliefs in the Bayon. The former work of thousands of human slaves has become an entirely voluntary effort, carried out in a spirit of genuine good-humour.

EXAMPLES OF RESULTS

After this somewhat dry discourse—a kind of lesson in anatomy—I should like to show you some of the results obtained by the application of this method.

I have already alluded to the delightful setting of Banteay Srei, situated about 20 kilometers (12-13 miles) north-east of the Angkor group. My predecessor, Henri Marchal, who cleared this site and reconstructed it in its entirety between 1931 and 1936, must receive all the more praise for his work, seeing that the staff attached to him had no knowledge whatever of the new technique.

This temple, which dates from the end of the tenth century and which may be truly called an architectural gem—a masterpiece of sculptured carving—was in a remarkable state of preservation even in the ruined parts, due to the quality of its rose-coloured sandstone. The extraordinary profusion of the decoration, without in the least degree causing the general directive idea of the beautiful lines of its construction to be lost to sight, simplified the identification of the blocks, while their reduced size made their handling less troublesome.

Banteay Srei, which was built on a much smaller scale than the monuments of the Angkor group, appears indeed to be a kind of half-size model for them. It looks like the result of a royal caprice, and the only criticism one can level at it is that it seemed to be a setting more for jewellery or sculpture in wood than for works in stone.

THE CITY OF ANGKOR-THOM

The town of Angkor-Thom, the last capital of the Khmer in the region of Angkor between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A.D., boasted of five similar monumental gates, four of which corresponded with the axial lines of the Central Temple of the Bayon, while the fifth led to the principal entrance of the Royal Palace, orientated towards the east. The gates are jointed to the ramparts, which are nearly 8 meters (26 feet) high and extend over 12 kilometers (7½ miles)

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in circumference. They were in a moderate state of preservation but had lost their crowning motifs, which when replaced gave them a total height of more than 23 meters (75 feet). Each gate, built of sandstone, forms a group of three towers in line: the chief tower, with two faces back-to-back, is flanked by two smaller ones with a single face each. The interiors of these latter towers were used as guard rooms for the sentries.

The whole idea corresponds clearly, with the same symbolism, to the towers with four faces of the Bayon, the royal tower extending over all the four cardinal points of the compass.

At the base the four re-entrant angles are broken by the superb motif of the three-headed elephant, whose descending trunk vertically forms a pillar. As may be known, this is the vehicle of the god Indra.

Outside one of the gates two rows of fifty-five giants each carrying the body of the Naga—gods on one side and demons on the other—mark the entrance to the city and form a parapet crossing the moat.

According to Professor Cœdès and Paul Mus, this is a symbolic representation, on the one hand, of a rainbow acting as a bond of union between the world of men and that of the gods, materialized by the Royal City. On the other hand, it also depicts in plastic form the myth of the “Churning of the Sea of Milk,” from which is derived the elixir of immortality disputed by gods and demons. At that time butter was apparently only a by-product and had not the same value as it has today! I show you, out of curiosity, two heads of demons, whose grinning faces are particularly expressive.

THE CENTRAL TEMPLE

In the Bayon, which was the Central Temple of Angkor City towards the end of the twelfth century, we were originally faced from a distance by a heap of stones, almost shapeless in form, a kind of chaotic mass, animated by the attacks of heaven.

According to its plan, whose confusion is the result of successive restorations (the

Khmer kings appear in their lifetime to have been very capricious “customers”), this Bayon is a representation of the “Mountain Temple,” devoted to the cult of the “God-King,” or of the “King Memorialized,” to use an expression of Jean Flavien. With its fifty four-faced towers, bursting forth at different levels and facing the four cardinal points, it is less an architectural work than a material translation of various forms of the spiritual or soul speculations of a great mystic, the Buddhist King Jayavarman VII. The four faces on each tower, which are not of a standard type, in so far as they represent not only the Bodhisavatta (future Buddha) Lokeçvara, but also the sovereign here identified with the god, are indeed a sign of his omnipresence.

Pierre Loti delighted in this temple, which when seen by him was entirely engulfed by the jungle; while another great writer, Paul Claudel, accused the archæologists of having made of it “a kind of crazy game of skittles or a basket of bottles.” However this may be, at the time of its clearance by Commaillie from 1911 to 1913, its complete and utter ruin was only a question of time, which had to be checked without delay.

The removal of all the vegetation showed only too clearly that each one of the towers of which the facing-stones (simply placed on top of one another with no binding material whatever) had not been able to resist the action of the tree-roots, was cracked from top to bottom, the vertical joints weighing upon one another without any overlapping. This faulty technique had caused the mass of stones to split like an over-ripe fruit, and every day stones were falling to the ground.

Between 1939 and 1946 the massive central group and almost all the towers were completely pulled down and then reconstructed by the “Anastylose” system, and the stone dressing linked together by invisible cramps. The closing-up of the joints has given the towers their sharpness of outline and the faces their mysterious smile—that Khmer smile, an eternal smile—which, coming from the lips, forms a contrast, a foil to the serenity of the half-closed eyes.

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Up on the higher terrace one feels oneself everywhere dominated and followed by these prodigious colossal faces, each one of which seems to duplicate its own profile and multiply itself without end.

THE TEMPLE OF PRAH PALILAY

I shall say only a few words about the Temple of Prah Palilay, whose entrance pavilion, cutting through the surrounding wall towards the east, was reconstructed in 1937. At that time all that remained was a ruin, disjointed and tottering, the fruit of the faulty technique inherent in all the buildings constructed in the Bayon style. Today it may be seen under the graceful silhouette of a cruciform building of very slender proportions with three passages, crowned by a square, central tower of one story with a vaulted, double-gabled arch.

Its chief interest lies in its pediments, sculptured with Buddhist scenes, which have by a fortunate chance escaped the attention of iconoclasts; they were found during the course of excavation, and once the fragments had been put together again were replaced in their original positions.

THE SHRINE OF NEAK PEAN

The shrine of Neak Pean, which was reconstructed during 1938 and 1939, will occupy our attention a little longer. Situated on the "Grand Circuit" and formerly a place of pilgrimage for its miraculous waters, it formed an islet in the middle of the Baray of Prah Khan, a vast stretch of water in front of this temple to the east. An inscribed *stela* refers to "this renowned island, which owes its attraction to the waters encircling it, cleansing from the stain of sin all those who come into contact with it and serving as a vessel for crossing the Ocean of Lives."

Angkor was rich in lakes of every kind: their waters, surrounded by steps leading down to them, formed part of the architectural design, and the Khmer attached to them a character of holiness.

For a long time Neak Pean was recog-

nizable only as the plinth of a sacred tree. Its sanctuary, perched on a circular platform with steps in the middle of the central lake, was topped by a giant fig-tree which, owing to the unusual spread of its branches, lent a mysterious charm to the whole monument, of which it had become the living skeleton.

Ravaged by a storm in 1935, this tree, reduced to the framework of its roots, which had to be hacked out in pieces, revealed a ruin shorn of its superstructure.

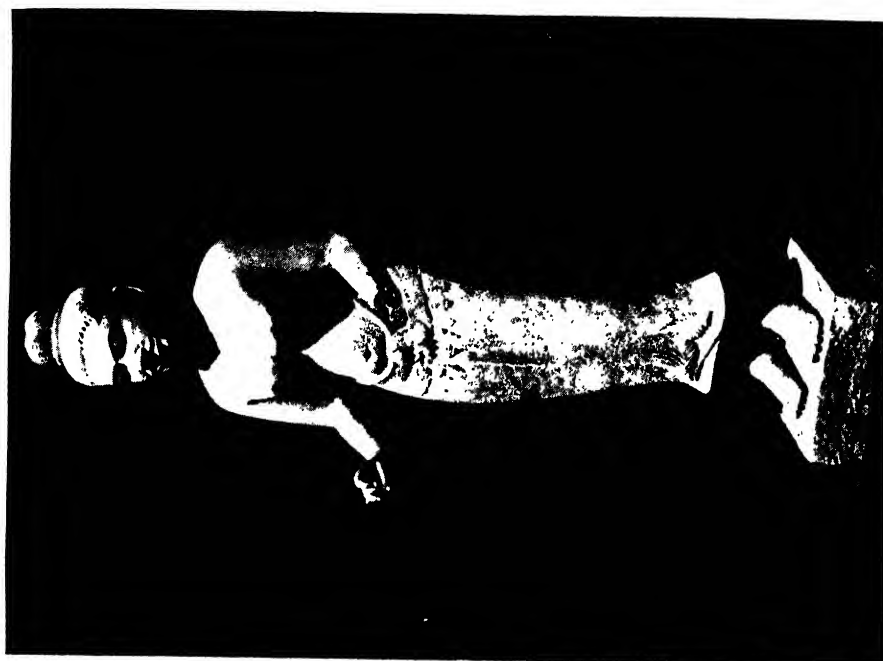
Now the "Anastylose" method has made of it a work of clear and sharp outline which, standing on its corolla of expanded lotus, must be classed in the category of "sheer delight."

The false-door seen here, both before and after the restoration, shows clearly the quality of the sculpture brought to light, a sculpture dedicated to *Lokeçvara*, the all-compassionate *Bodhisattva*.

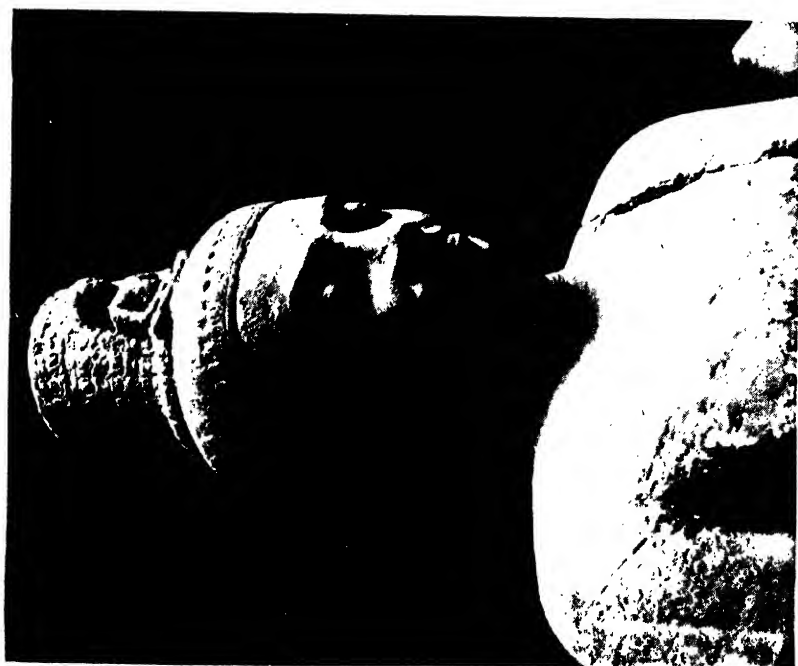
THE TEMPLE OF PRAH KHAN

The temple of Prah Khan, which stands in the "Grand Circuit," represents a whole world of its own, covering an area of 56 hectares (140 acres). A noteworthy victim of the orgy of destruction by the vegetable world, it was only imperfectly cleared in 1939—the year when the work of reconstruction, interrupted in 1932, was resumed—and its ruinous state allowed of only partial restoration. This is the work in which I am now engaged and which is being pursued energetically. As far as possible, the great hundred-year-old trees are being preserved, so as to retain the romantic charm of the whole scene.

Dating from the end of the twelfth century, at a time when the growth of Buddhism gave an impetus to conventual life, the Temple of Prah Khan is a monastery whose system of cloisters, enclosed by galleries and all on one floor, was repeated in each concentric enclosure. Unfortunately a mass of annexes added later have complicated to an extreme degree the beautiful simplicity of the original plan. Reduced by time into heaps of debris, the axial galleries of the temple have been cleared, revealing an

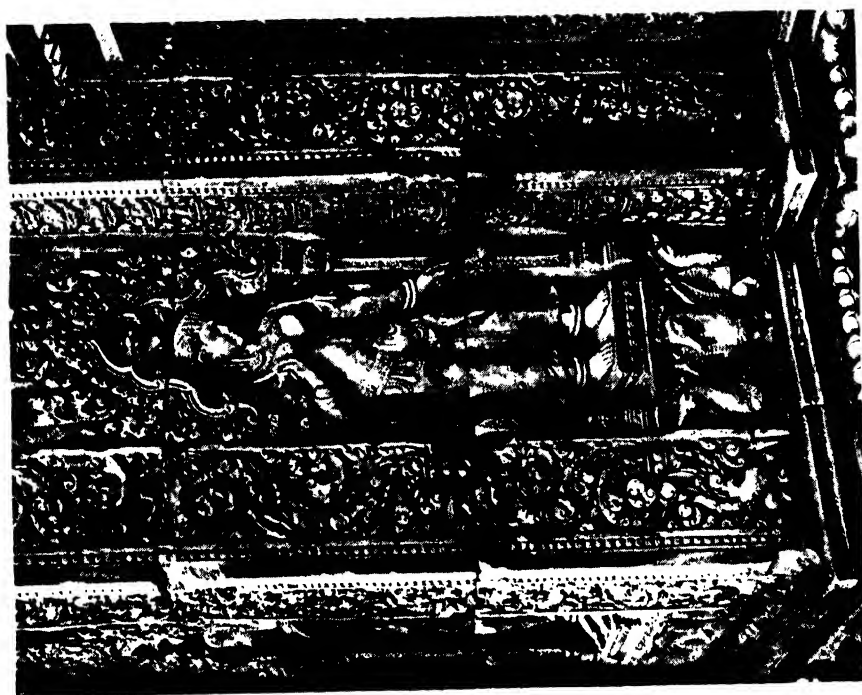


BAKONG: FEMALE DIVINITY



PRAH KHAN: LOKA-VARA

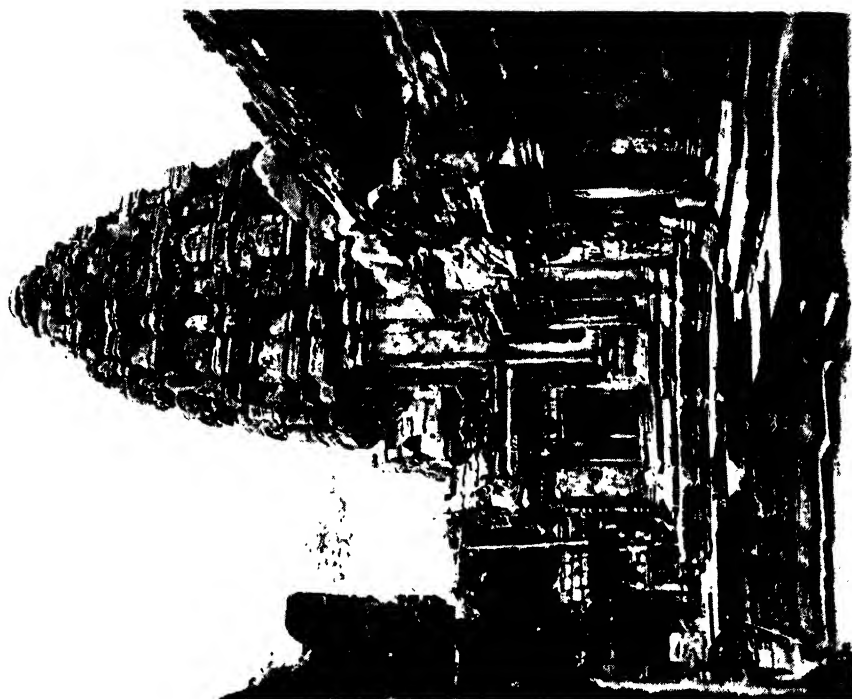
The Temples of Angkor



BANTÉAY SREI; DEVATA

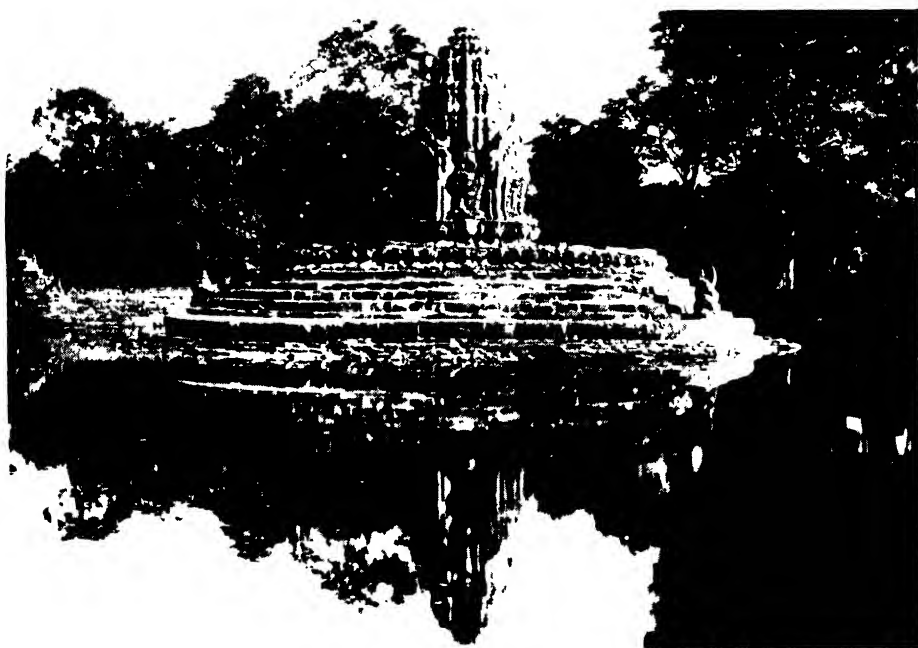


BAYON; SANCTUARY TOWERS AFTER RESTORATION



BANTEAY SAMRÉ
Before and after restoration

PLATE IV.



NEAK PEAN
Before and after restoration

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uninterrupted suite of halls and vestibules—a veritable “sacred way” to the heart of the monument.

Already more than half the buildings of the inner courtyard have been reconstructed, as well as the pavilions of the western entrance to the right of each enclosure. These entrances, as with the gates of Angkor city, are flanked by rows of giants carrying the Naga, in this case doubled by an alley of decorated boundary posts. The outer enclosure is marked, at distances of 50 meters, by superb figures of the Garuda, the godlike bird with human body, of which I show you an example.

The works already carried out have brought to light a document of great importance, in the shape of the Foundation Inscription of the Temple. From the translation by Cœdès it makes notable mention of the erection in 1191 by King Jayavarman VII of a statue of his father represented as *Lokeçvara*. The picture that you see before you shows the quality of the facial expression lit up by an imperceptible smile and by its reflection of a life of intense feeling. When one remembers that another temple of equal importance, Ta Prohm, was itself consecrated to the king's mother, one can only pay honour to such expressions of filial piety. However, it may be mentioned that this has not prevented certain vandals, during recent times, from committing an injury to this statue; in particular, they have endeavoured to destroy the small image of the Buddha which adorned the head-dress.

THE TEMPLE OF BANTEAY SAMRÉ

In Banteay Samré, which is situated outside the “Grand Circuit,” we reach a monument of first-rate importance from its size. Though totally ruined, the “Anastylose” method has allowed us to rebuild it in its entirety—a work which has occupied nine years. Of the Bayon it must be stated that its reconstruction consisted only of the almost mechanical dismantling and re-erecting of sanctuaries which had become disjointed but still remained standing.

Banteay Samré, on the other hand, is a pure specimen of classic art of the best period—that of Angkor Vat—towards the middle of the twelfth century—in which the decoration, embellished by large nude figures, forms part and parcel of the architectural design. Approached towards the east by a long causeway of 200 meters (220 yards), which is bordered by Naga-balustrades and followed by a cruciform terrace, this temple is of very slender and perfect proportions, though, before the work on it was begun, one could not foresee the beautiful horizontal lines of the mutilated buildings, since they scarcely emerged from the jungle covering them.

The plan of the building is simple—an enclosure of galleries with four entrance pavilions, a sunken courtyard, and a central sanctuary preceded by a long hall flanked by two secondary buildings called “libraries.” A second sunken courtyard separates the whole from the outer gallery of the second enclosure, which also has four entrances.

The sanctuary itself, the forepart of which formed porches and whose upper false-storeys were in ruin, has been entirely rebuilt right up to its circular crowning motif in the form of a lotus which reaches a height of 21 meters (66 feet) above the level of the ground of the courtyard. The numerous points of emphasis in the cornices, throwing out a play of light and shade, lend to this temple, even more than at Angkor Vat, the aspect of a pierced pointed arch, with a slender curve and without sharpness of outline.

The entrance pavilions of the first enclosure giving access to the central body of the temple, and two wings less developed as to the height of their structure, were entirely lost in the jungle, except towards the east, so much so that one could scarcely recognize their original form, which drew its elegance from the pediments placed above them.

These latter, in contrast to Greek pediments which are always inspired by the rigid geometrical figures of the triangle—a figure which closes and forms a setting—share in the ascending movement of the whole structure, due to the arch-like form

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imposed upon them by the shape of the vaults themselves. Animated by the supple waving lines of the many-lobed arc of the Naga body which frames them, they are a realization of one of the finest expressions of the architectural dynamic.

In the same way very little of the outer enclosure remained, and the pavilion which had been covered with tiles like the galleries—which latter were duplicated by a continuous portico of elegant sandstone pillars—had disappeared under the liana growth. The works put in hand have now been able to restore their imposing sandstone skeleton, except for the tiled roof and the timber beams which had vanished.

Let us have a look now at the whole of this same gallery, taken from towards the interior of the monument. The presence of the sunken courtyards, displaying the height of the walls, makes an efficient stronghold of the two enclosures, which fits in well with the defensive rôle attributed to the Temple of Banteay Samré, where, according to local legend, the "King of the Soft Cucumbers" once took refuge.

Throughout the monument the different buildings are perched on high basement-foundations with a symmetrical horizontal axis and a sunken decoration executed in a flawless style. This decoration consists of a regular pattern of geometrical designs and foliage enlivened by certain types of the horticultural world, such as petals and buds of the lotus flower.

In order to try and give you some idea of the quality of the ornamental sculpture, I show you also photographs of an extremely classical door frieze carved with flowers in stone and of a lintel with foliage designs centring round several personages and a monster's head.

The pavement of the inner courtyard is lined with Naga balustrades on plinths, whose finial motives, in the shape of fan-shaped heads, are wonderfully well preserved; they form, of course, the stylization of the king cobra.

Over and above these, however, the outstanding features are the great pediments

on the columns of the outer gateways. Weighing nearly 15 tons, they were smashed by their fall into small fragments, and their reconstruction has presented a regular jigsaw puzzle. Before the work began even their existence was unknown, since practically all the fragments were buried in the ground. The scenes depicted on the tympanums of these pediments, whose composition departs forcibly from the usual motive-types, are in high relief and are of an unequal quality from the point of view of plastic technique. Representing veritable pages of history or of legend inspired by the Ramayana, they narrate various episodes of the Battle of Lanka. After the duel between Rama and Ravana, both of whom are mounted on their war-chariots and stand detached from the mêlée of monkeys and demons, I show you the god Vishnu, to whom the temple was dedicated, overcoming two demons, both of whom he is grasping by their hair. Next, on a half-pediment, is a procession of gods on their vehicles—Vishnu with four arms on a lion; Skanda, the god of war, with ten arms and tapering heads on a peacock; and Yama, the god of death, on a buffalo. I propose to conclude my pictures of this temple with two details, one, a very fine head of Çiva in high relief, and two delightful female bearers of offerings with their tresses falling over their foreheads.

THE TEMPLE OF BAKONG

At the risk of abusing your patience, I should like to talk to you about Bakong in the Roluos group, about 13 kilometers (10 miles) from Siemreap. At the end of the tenth century this was the central temple of Hariharalâya, the capital of King Indravarman before the founding of Angkor—a mountain temple dedicated to Çiva, where the cult of the god-king was observed.

Before the work was taken in hand—a work lasting from 1936 to 1943—Bakong was nothing but a mound of earth. Its sandstone buildings, which had in the course of centuries been the subject of systematic destruction as well as of repairs of every kind, had finally been completely razed to the

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ground and their stones scattered even up to the very foot of the five-terraced pyramid. Nothing existed any more of the central sanctuary, which post-dated the rest of the temple by about two centuries, except the marks, on the paving of the platform, of the outer contour of its base. Nothing was known of the number of the buildings which had disappeared, or of their nature, and it has only been by grouping the stones in categories according to their moulding or their decoration that it has been possible to assign to them their respective positions.

Rising from nothing, Bakong has today, from its base to its summit, taken on once more its integral outline, and this so-called "resurrection" sets the seal, both from the æsthetic and documentary points of view, on the method of "Anastylose."

It may be noted in passing that the pyramid of Bakong, owing to the width of its steps, shows to better advantage and in more natural proportion than the steep "ladder of heaven" of other temples of the same kind, and thereby corresponds more closely to our Western canons. It was also, in its day, the first creation in sandstone of a great architectural enclosure, all previous buildings having been in brick. I will now show you three successive stages in the reconstruction of the central sanctuary.

The fourth terrace was marked by twelve little sandstone sanctuaries each sheltering a *linga*, the emblem of *Çiva*, all placed in regular lines, while great elephant monoliths gave life to the three lower terraces.

The fifth terrace showed throughout its circumference a continuous frieze of figures in bas-relief, the first expression of its kind in Khmer art. Unfortunately it is in such a state of decay that only four or five panels remain decipherable. The portion which I show now is enough to make one bitterly regret the ruin of the whole.

Eight sanctuary-towers in brick, five of which are still standing—two to each side—are distributed round the pyramid. Their lintels in sandstone are among the most beautiful in the whole field of Khmer art. The other three, which are completely

ruined, promised nothing more than shapeless masses, from which, however, it has been possible to extract the chief elements of their sandstone skeleton.

Other traces of brick buildings, twenty-two in number and mostly in a state of ruin, have been found outside the enclosure, which was surrounded by a moat. They contained various architectural fragments of great interest and some very fine pieces of sculpture, among them a standing image of *Vishnu* and a figure of *Çiva*, whose head and shoulders you see before you. Among the débris not far away lay a small statue of a female goddess of the tenth-eleventh century, which I personally much admire, and whose delicate and smiling expression you will certainly appreciate.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE RESULTS

A certain lady visitor once said to me: "Outside the monuments, there's not much to see at Angkor." That's pretty good, isn't it?

I have been able to show you only a very small part of the whole, just a part of what the French School of the Far East, under the inspiration of its Director, Georges Coédès, has been able to accomplish during the last fifteen years, even at a time of great stress and disturbance.

Following the example of other Frenchmen cut off from the world in Indo-China, Frenchmen so unjustly maligned, we were constantly inspired by the words of Giraudoux: "The magnitude of the work done by the French can only be in proportion to that of human vicissitudes."

I will not dwell on the difficulties we have encountered, and the dangers we have run, on the loss of part of our archives, or on the plunder of our property. I am only too happy to have been able—thanks to the understanding and constant help of an enlightened Administration, which, in view of the results obtained, has increased our budgets in substantial fashion—not only to prepare a "tasty dish" for the post-war tourist traffic, but to present to the archæolo-

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gists of the whole world a clearer view of one of the most important and imposing creations of the human race.

The "Anastylose" method, without stifling the song of the ancient stones which at Angkor still stand as they were set, allows us not only to look at, but also to examine and fix in our minds, down to the very smallest details, what would otherwise have remained either inaccessible or buried. It is not the

revised and corrected version of a book whose pages have been torn or devoured by white ants, but a new edition of the original text miraculously preserved, which cannot leave anybody indifferent to its beauty. Already the Cambodians, direct descendants of the Khmer, ceasing to bewail their own inertia, experience from this example a renewal of living force, and it is to France that they owe this gift.

CAVE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

AS I rise to address you, two thoughts are uppermost in my mind. The first, as is natural, is a keen sense of appreciation for the honour you have done me and my university in asking me to address you. For this I desire to express my sincerest thanks. The second concerns the subject-matter itself. I am afraid my position in dealing with such a vast subject in one hour is just like crossing the ocean on a raft. My only hope is found in the works of pioneers in Indian archæology from the West—James Fergusson, Alexander Cunningham, Burgess and Sir John Marshall, who opened up new vistas in research. I can only attempt to arrange the treasures left by these savants and thus partially redeem the deep debt of gratitude which we in India still owe to the West.

Cave temple architecture, its history and its evolution ranging over a period of nearly a thousand years, engaged the main attention of Fergusson and Burgess, and their monumental work, published seventy years ago, is still the standard authority. Though lately Mr. Percy Brown has further discussed the subject in his *Indian Architecture—Hindu and Buddhist*, there is hardly anything I can add from the architectural point of view. My study of the subject is purely academic—to

cater for the requirements of my post-graduate students. I shall therefore confine myself to some of the most important cave temples—namely, those of Bhājā, Kārli, Ajantā, Ellorā and Elephanta—which are most representative in character. Their importance lies not only in their architectural development, testifying as it does to the ingenuity of the Indian mind in hewing big caves out of solid rock, but also to the carving of sculptures ranging from small items of interest to colossal images. It is equally interesting to notice the symmetry of the carvings, their architectural elegance combined with sculptural harmony. This is enhanced in the case of Ajanta by the beautiful fresco paintings, serving as a mirror of the Indian social life of their period.

BIHAR

The earliest examples of cave temple architecture are in Bihar, about nineteen miles north of Gayā. These caves were dedicated by the Emperor Aśoka. They are interesting not only as the earliest attempt at carving out of rock, but also because of the beautiful façade modelled on the lines of wooden buildings. The ornamental façade of the Lomas Rishi cave is of special interest as an accurate reproduction of the gable

¹ Lecture delivered by Mr. B. N. Puri, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Archæology, Lucknow University, on February 16, 1950, at the Arts Council, St. James's Square, London.

CAVE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

end of a wooden structure chiselled into the rock face. The sculptor has transformed the handiwork of the carpenter into stone. The uprights inclining slightly inwards form the main support and are joined at the top by two rafters, while the other subsidiary ones are laid parallel. The carved roof is composed of three laminated planks which are kept in place at the lower extremities by short tie rods. The doorway—some $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high—is recessed with a semicircular archway above which are two lunettes. In the lower one a procession of elephants is carved, while the upper is filled with a pattern of lattice-work, both being copies of perforated wood.

With the growth of the Buddhist monastic establishments there was a pressing need to find permanent dwellings for the Buddhist Śramaṇas who were required to stay in during the rainy season. The wooded hills of the Western Ghats seemed the right type of place where they could carve out their permanent lodging and would at the same time be places of corporate worship. The rocks were first of all made perpendicular and then the large halls and chambers were cut out with the pick and completed with the chisel. The art of architecture as applied to rock cutting is no sign of immaturity, but shows how the talents of the Indian sculptors were applied to the problem of meeting the requirements of the Buddhist monks and catering for their spiritual and temporal needs.

BOMBAY

Rock-cut architecture to be found in the State of Bombay dates from two different periods separated by an interval of two-three centuries. The first, popularly called the Hinayāna phase, dates from the second century B.C. and lasts up to the second century A.D., when it seems to have declined. After a few hundred years of inactivity it assumed vigour and form again from the fifth century onwards. It was not entirely Buddhist in character, for even the Brahmin and Jain monks took advantage of these permanent arrangements. The only dif-

ference between this later phase and the earlier lies in the absence from the figure of the Buddha of certain intimate personal attributes found in the Hinayana caves. Another test for finding out the age and character of any cave is the use of wood, which can often be found in the earlier caves.

The conventional establishment consisted of a prayer hall and its accompanying monastery. The Chaitya, or prayer room, was a large vaulted hall with an apsidal end, divided longitudinally into a broad nave and two aisles. In the apse stood the stupa which, too, was carved out of the natural rock. The side aisles and the apsidal were designed for circumambulation (Pradakṣiṇā) round the stupa. The monastic establishments consisted of a square central hall entered by a doorway in front of which was a vestibule, verandah or portico. Inside the central hall there were doorways for cells further inside. There were separate places for superior monks, as can be seen at Kārli.

Bearing in mind this architectural description and the difference between the two component parts of the Buddhist monastic establishments, it is now possible to describe the caves of Bhājā and Kārli, the most primitive from the architectural and sculptural point of view, before we pass on to Ajantā. But it will first be necessary to describe the process of carving these colossal buildings out of the rock.

The hill was first scraped to make it perpendicular, so as to facilitate cutting. A temporary platform was cut out of the stone to enable the workmen to begin their job from the top and work downwards. The façade of the hall or monastery was first marked out, then cutting started from the centre by cutting a large window through which access to the inside could be obtained and the spoil cleared from the inside. The ceiling was then cut and completely finished off before the work was carried down. The quarryman with his big axe and the sculptor with his chisel joined hands. This process dispensed with scaffolding and made the workers immune from the danger of the ceiling cracking.

CAVE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The Bhāja cave is the earliest attempt in Buddhist cave temple architecture. The great open archway still exists, though the wooden construction which screened the lower portion and formed a good combination with the stone archway has disappeared. The shape and position of the mortice holes suggest the use of wooden frontage. To the right are some Vihāra caves made at the same time as the façade.

In the interior, wood was freely used in the ribs as well as in the *harmika* of the stupa with its *Yaśti*. The measurements of the hall are 55 feet long and 26 feet across with the side aisles $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The pillars are a few inches out of the perpendicular in a height of 11 feet, while the height of the vault is 29 feet from the floor.

The ornamented Vihāra at the end of the caves group shows some scenes which have been the subject of argument. It was supposed to be Sūrya, with his attendants Piṅgala and Daṇḍin, riding a chariot with five horses, though only four can be noticed. The association of a Brahmanical legend with a Buddhist cave makes the suggestion rather doubtful, and the late Dr. Johnston thought that the sculpture represented the war between Sakka and Asura, as told in the Saṃyutta Nikāya and also in the Jātaka-nālā of Āryasūra. The relief on the opposite side was identified by him with Māra depicted as Kāmadeva, trying to fight the Buddha.

The Hinayana type of Chaitya hall is most impressive at Kārli. It appears rather unsymmetrical. At the outset one notices two large columns which were detached from the main cave with addorsed lion capitals supporting a large wheel. The height of the pillar is 50 feet. The vestibule of the hall is immediately behind the two lion columns with a rock-cut screen and the triple entrance below. The mortice holes alone remain of the wooden attachment serving as the ministers' gallery to which access was obtained from the left side at the back of the lion capital. Entering through one of these doorways, the whole inner frontage, with the sun window covered by the towering horseshoe archway, now appears. The

interior is noted for its solemnity. The grand aisle is 124 feet long, $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 45 feet high. The colonnades, 37 in number, are closely set and highly carved on each side, except the plain octagonal shaft encircling the apse. Each pillar consists of a vase base, and octagonal shaft, a capital with spreading abacus and a fine group of sculptured statuary adding immense beauty to the pillar. Each group consists of two kneeling elephants each bearing a male and a female rider with resplendent hairdress and loaded with jewellery. On the reverse side there are horses in place of elephants.

The projecting ribs of the high arched vault of the roof are not carved out of the rock, but separate pieces of wood are attached to the surface by means of plugs, or socketed into grooves. The stūpa is in the middle with its architectural, decorative and essential symbolic elements carefully worked out. There are sculptures on the right side of the wall of the porch as well as in another part of the back wall of the porch.

AJANTA

The Vihāras at Ajantā are notable for their planning, and those of the Hinayāna sect are exact facsimiles, in the rock, of actual buildings. The earlier Vihāras of the Hinayāna type are distinguished from the later by the simplicity of the large square apartment, uninterrupted by any pillar formation. In the cells are to be found beds for the monks. At Ajantā, a small group of early Hinayāna Vihāras and Chaityas are to be noticed—Nos. 9 and 10 are early Chaityas while Nos. 8, 12 and 13 are Vihāras. The first to be cut was Chaitya hall No. 10 with its attached Vihāra No. 12; No. 13 was added to it later on.

The later phase does not show any special departure from the earlier period, except the iconographical representation of the figure of the Buddha. The ordinary cells serving as dormitories were converted into sanctuaries with the image of the Buddha. The monastic establishment illustrates the evolution of rock architecture from Hinayanism to Mahāyānism. The Mahāyāna caves, 23 in number,

start from about the middle of the fifth century A.D. In the Mahāyāna series, Vihāras Nos. 11 and 7 are the earliest, followed by 15, 16, 17, 18 and 20, and Chaitya hall No. 19 about fifty years later. Next follow Vihāras Nos. 21-25 and Chaitya hall No. 26, while Nos. 1-5 were probably constructed between A.D. 600 to 650; the last, left incomplete after the death of the Chālukyan king Pulakesin II and the conquest of the country by the Pallava king Narsinga Varman, were Vihāras Nos. 27 and 28.

The earliest group of the Mahāyāna style are the three Vihāras, Nos. 11, 7 and 6, belonging to the transitional stage. The Chaitya halls, which surpass the Vihāras in design and execution, have No. 19 as the earlier and the finer. The full height of the exterior is 30 feet, with a width of 32 feet, and the interior measure 46 feet by 24 feet. Originally, it appears to have had a well-proportioned entrance court with side aisles. The façade has only one doorway instead of the usual three, but a pillared portico of elegant design is projected in front. The roof of the portico forms a massive entablature, the upper surface being probably used as a ministers' gallery with the Chaitya window at the back. The full height of the façade is 38 feet and the width 32 feet. The interior, as usual, is divided into nave and aisles by a colonnade of 15 pillars, in addition to two at the entrance, closely set about 11 feet high. They have richly patterned shafts with cushion capitals and ponderous brackets above. A broad frieze 5 feet wide, divided into panels, continues round the nave. There are no more wooden ribs in the vaulted roof, but they are carved out of stone. The image of the Buddha, empanelled, canopied or niched, contrasts well with the group of aerial figures. The stupa dome, 22 feet high, occupies a prominent place in the centre, with its apex nearly touching the vault of the apse above. The face of the domical portion has a pillared niche and canopy with a large image of the Buddha in relief. At the top is the *Hārmikā* and the finial or *Yaśti*.

The Chaitya hall No. 26 is approximately

a third larger than the preceding one, with its dimensions 68 feet by 36 feet wide. It contains 26 columns, each 12 feet in height, with an increased amount of ornamentation, which has added monotony, with less charm externally, as the pillared portico across the façade has disappeared. The sculptural and architectural sides point to the maturity of the Indian mind, displaying a greater appreciation of architectural values. But these cave temples have greater attraction for the student of pictorial art, as the earliest representation ranging over a couple of centuries. The most ancient excavations, Nos. VIII, XII and XIII, have no paintings, but the last, No. XIII, with its polished walls might have been the earliest. The paintings are not necessarily of the same age as the caves which they adorn.

The most ancient are certain works in caves IX and X with their painting closely related to the Sāñchi sculptures. The bulk of these unquestionably have to be assigned to the time of the great Chālukyan kings (A.D. 550 to 643) and the earlier Vākātaka kings of Berar, as there is a Vākātaka inscription in cave XVI. The process used in the actual painting was quite simple. A mixture of clay, cow-dung and pulverized traprock was first applied to the walls and thoroughly pressed into their surface. In ceilings, rice-husks were used. The first layer, varying from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, was laid and on it an egg-shell coat of fine plaster was spread. The whole of each cave was plaster-coated and painted. Though the subject-matter of these paintings is purely Buddhist—dealing with the life of the Buddha or the Jātaka stories—one also notices simple natural objects converted into pleasing and effective ornamental designs. They appear varying, graceful and even fanciful, as for example the pair of lovers in a spandril of the central panel of the ceiling of cave I.

It is difficult to give a detailed description of the cave paintings which have been published. It would take too long to describe them or the various publications in which they can be found. But the scene of the dying princess cannot go by default. It well

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depicts, in an unmistakable manner, the pathos and sentiment of the story and, according to Griffiths, this picture can hardly be surpassed in the history of art. "The Florentine could have better drawing, and the Venetian better colouring, but neither could have drawn greater expression in 'the dying princess' with her drooping head, half-closed eyes and languid limbs, as she reclines on a bed. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety as she seems to realize how soon her life would be extinct. These pictorial scenes served for the edification of devout worshippers as instructive illustrations of the Buddhist Bible" (Watt). These paintings excite respectful admiration as the production of painters capable of deep emotion, full of sympathy with the nature of men, women and children. According to Griffiths, "I find the work so accomplished in execution, so vivacious and varied in design and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour that I am correct in ranking it with some of the early art which the world has agreed to place in Italy. Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar and beasts which spring out, or patiently carry burdens. All are taken from nature's book." The everyday life of the people, buying and selling, love-making and dancing, is fully displayed.

ELLORA

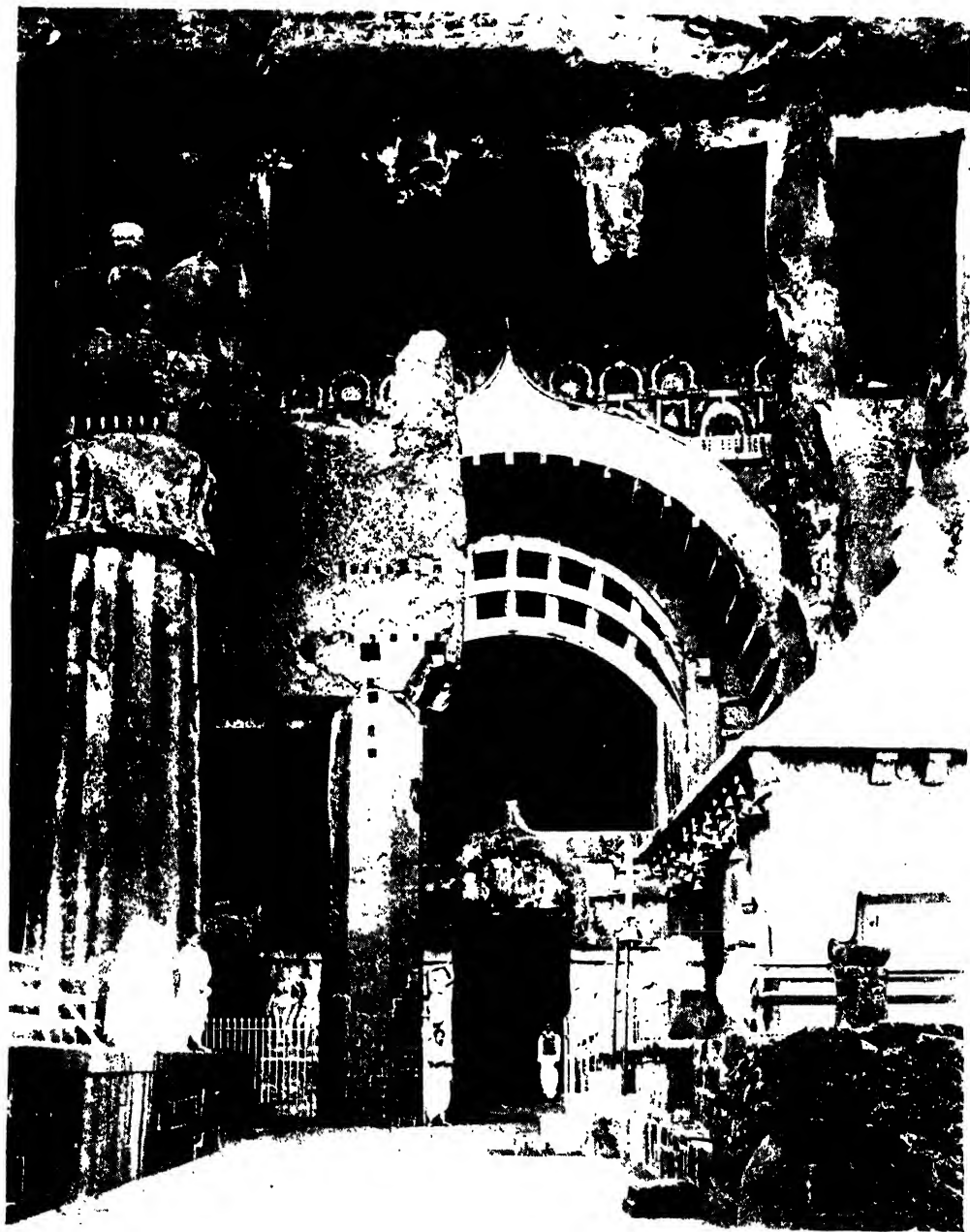
The rock-cut architecture at Ellora shows some difference in character from the caves at Ajantā, situated at a distance of sixty miles. The caves at Ellora are carved out of a ridge of low hills with the Buddhist area occupying a prominent place—with only twelve rock-cut halls, divided into two groups—Nos. 1 to 5 and the remainder. Kailāśa, or the abode of lord Ś'iva, occupies a prominent place in the centre with the Buddhist caves to the left and the Brahmanical and Jain to the right.

The Kailāśa is unique as a class by itself. It is an attempt to cut out of the rock a colossal temple. It was executed in the time

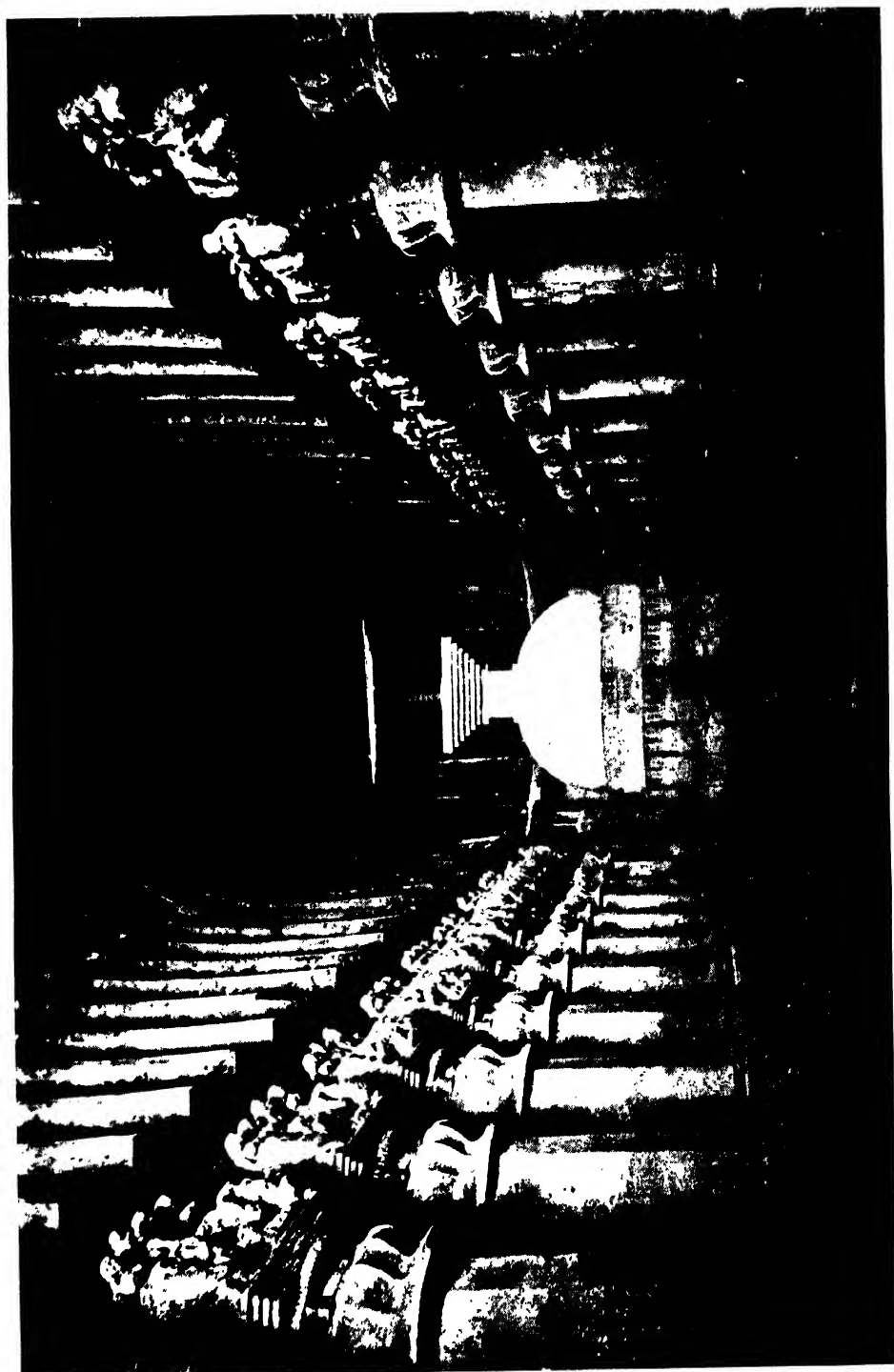
of Kṛishṇa I (757-85) of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty. The plan of the temple started first with a rectangle 300 feet by 175 feet, leaving in the middle a large isolated mass of rock over 100 feet wide and 100 feet high. The next step was rough-hewing the irregular mass. Then the sculptor finished off the detailed carving as the work proceeded down. The Kailāśa as a whole is composed of ten parts—the body of the temple itself, the entrance gateway, an intermediate Nandi shrine and the cloisters surrounding the courtyard. Supplementary chambers were excavated on each side of the courtyard. The entrance to the temple is from the west. The main body occupies a parallelogram approximately 150 by 100 feet and the plinth is 20 feet high. Above and below the structure is a heavily moulded tier, while the grand frieze of boldly carved elephants and lions occupies the central place on all sides. The temple on the plinth is approached by a flight of steps leading to the pillared porch on its western side. One notices here the cornices, pilasters, niches and porticoes carried out in an orderly, though rather unconventional, manner.

The stately tower in three tiers, with its prominently projecting gable-end, is surmounted by a shapely cupola reaching up to a total height of 95 feet. Around the wide space of the platform at the base of the Vimāna are carved fine subsidiary storeys. The interior of the main temple consists of a pillared hall from which a vestibule leads to the cellar. This pillared hall measures 70 by 62 feet, having sixteen square piers in groups—four to each quarter.

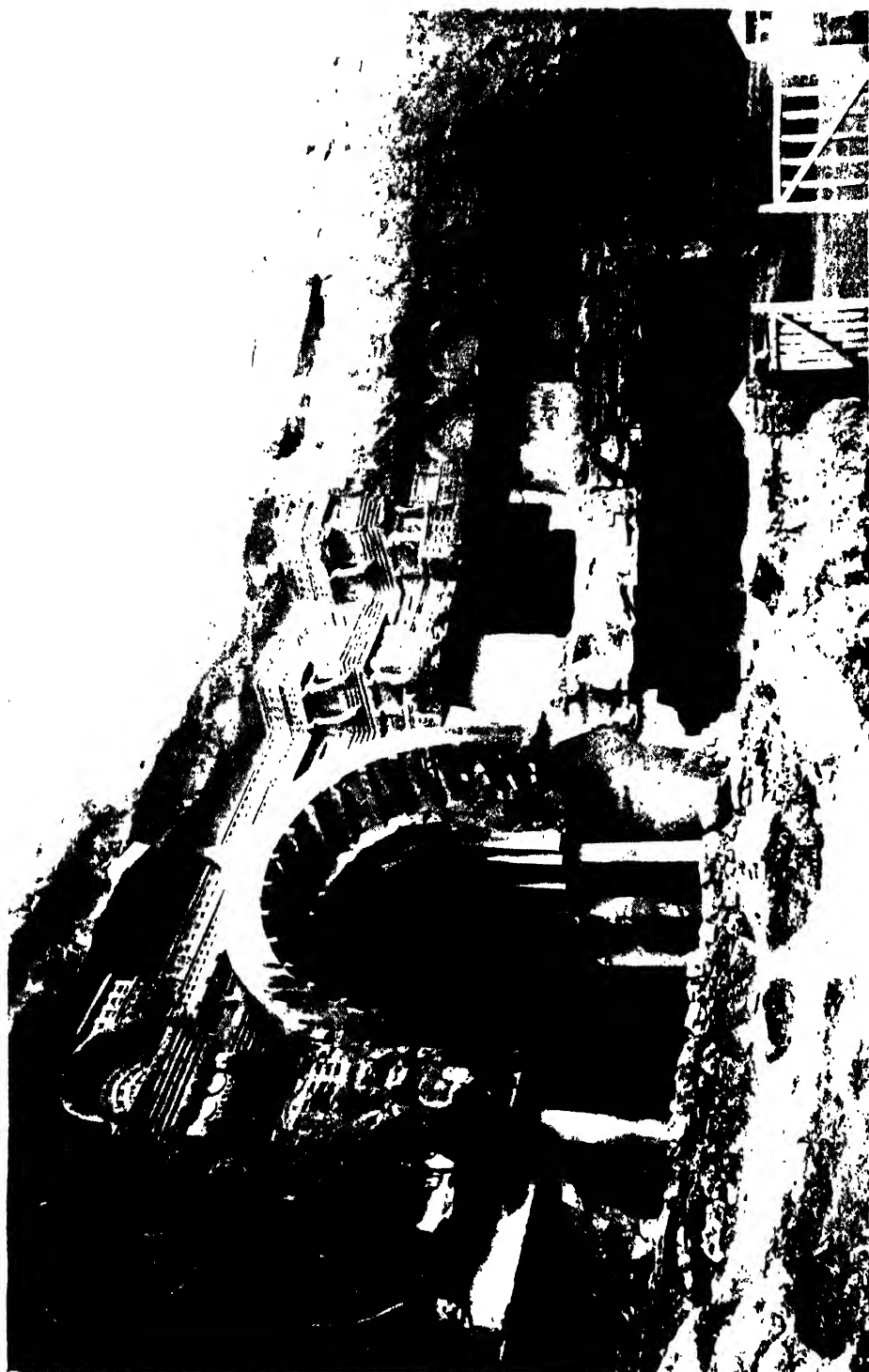
The Nandi shrine in front, a pavilion 20 feet square and standing on a solid, yet highly decorated, base with a total height of 50 feet, is connected with the temple by a bridge. It is joined on the opposite side with the main entrance—a fine double-storeyed barrack for the temple guardians. The cloisters encircling the courtyard are composed of a colonnade of pillars, irregularly broken at intervals by the entrances to side chambers. Finally, there are two free standing pillars—dhvajastambhas—51 feet high, one on each side of



KARLI CAVES (POONA); CHATTYA CAVE
View from west



KARLI CAVES. POONA : GHATYA CAVE
View from north



BHAJA - POONA : CAVES XI TO XV
View from northwest: second century B.C.



ELEPHANTA CAVES (KOLABA); MAIN CAVE NO. 1
Nakarāja Siva

the Nandī shrine, which are themselves finished works of art.

The Kailāśa, an unique illustration of rock-cut architecture, is a reduction to concrete reality of the abstract feeling of intense devotion, and may be considered as a great spiritual achievement. The Rāvaṇa Ka-Kai—cave XIV—is important from the point of view both of architecture and sculpture. It is an early Brahmanical cave, with four pillars in front and twelve inside the open hall measuring $55\frac{1}{2}$ by 54 feet. The shrine is surrounded by a wide passage or Pradakṣiṇā path for circumambulation. The total depth of the excavation is 85 feet, with a height of $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet and side aisles measuring 13 feet 8 inches. Amongst the sculptures on the southern side are Mahiṣāsuri killing the demon, Śīva and Pārvaṭī sitting on a raised platform, with attendants behind them, playing some game. The most important sculpture shows Śīva in his Tāṇḍavanṛtya—a most remarkable piece, and perhaps the best. Śīva's famous attendant, Bhriṅgi, is at the back, and there are three figures with drums and fifes to the right of the Lord, while Pārvaṭī and two gaṇas stand to the left. Above, to the left, are Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and to the right Indra on his famous elephant, as well as Agni on his ram.

Another important sculpture is that of Rāvana, king of Lankā, testing his immeasurable strength by trying to carry away Kailāśa, until, being pressed under the hill by the feet of the Lord, the demon king repents of his action. Bhairava, the destructive form of Śīva, is noticeable in another sculpture.

The Viśvakarma cave is Buddhist in character. It is the only Chaitya cave, and, though it is not so magnificent as at Karli, it has a large open court in front, surrounded by a corridor. The inner temple consists of a central nave and side aisles measuring 85 feet 10 inches by 43 feet and is 34 feet high. There are twenty-eight octagonal pillars 14 feet high, separating the nave from the aisles, with plain bracket capitals. The Dagoba is $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, 27 feet high. A colossal seated figure of Buddha, 11 feet high, with

his feet flat to the ground, is carried inside a large case 17 feet high. The arched roof has the same ribs, but not of wood. Besides these, the Do Thal and the Tin Thal caves (though actually three-storied caves) are important because of their colossal size and vast courts, with rows of pillars carved inside. The Tin Thal is most striking, being commodious enough to accommodate forty priests, while the Assembly Hall was big enough to seat large congregations. Though the exterior is plain, the interior of each hall is encircled with considerable sculpture, with each story differently treated. It would take too long to describe the sculptures portraying each story.

There are certain other caves, such as the two-storied Dasa-Avatāra cave, which depicts the ten incarnations. There are also many Jain caves, but lack of time and the detailed architectural treatment required to describe them stand in my way.

ELEPHANTA

The caves of Elephanta lie at a distance of about seven miles from the Apollo Bandar. Their sculptures possess the distinguishing features of the medieval period. Though there are no paintings, it is presumed that they did exist. Traces could be noticed in the ceilings of the main cave. Another point worth mentioning is the exclusively Śaivite character of these caves, with the Maheśa mūrti (popularly called the Trimūrti) as the finest specimen. The Śīva is portrayed as the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the universe, and there is no evidence to suggest that the three faces of the Mūrti represent Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. It is situated in a recess carved deep into the interior of the rock, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, with the width of the recess inside 2 feet 6 inches. The Dvārapālas or doorkeepers standing outside are between 12 and 13 feet high. The Maheśamūrti is 17 feet 10 inches high from the base up. The three faces, according to Dr. Stella Kramrisch, are Tatpuruṣa in the middle, Aghora to the left and Vāmadeva to the right. Each face

CAVE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

has its own physiognomy, but the power and unity of the image as a whole is not disturbed. It is a symbol and image, Liṅga and Mūrti combined into one—the supreme. Here one is reminded of the Vedic idea of “*Ēkaṁ Sad Viprā Bahudhā Vadanti*”—that is, “Sages name variously what is one.”

Ś'iva as Naṭarāja, despite the act of vandalism done to disfigure the deity, is one of the best specimens of sculpture. It is the principal figure in the compartment to the right of the main hall. The central figure is about 11 feet in height. The Naṭarāja possibly had eight arms. The first two arms on the left side, now broken off near the waist, were probably hanging down, while the third is bent upwards and the fourth is extended above the shoulder. The right thigh is bent upwards, but broken off near the knee, and the left leg is entirely gone. The armlets and the belt round the waist are still very distinct. The Lord, in his dancing mood, represents his five activities—creation or evolution of the world, its protection, its destruction, the embodiment of souls and, finally, their release from the cycle of existence. The drum in the upper right hand stands for creative sound, and the flame in the upper left for the fire of destruction, thereby exhibiting the perpetual change between creation and destruction. Amongst the spectators of the dance are Pāravatī, to the left, about 7 feet in height, with her face, bosom and hands badly damaged. To the right is the figure of Gaṇeśa holding a Phārasva-axe in his right hand. Bhriṅgi, the devout attendant of the Lord, is to be noticed, in skeleton form, shown in the same dancing posture as his lord. A large male figure to the right with a high cap is seen holding a crescent. The Ś'akti in the right hand of the Lord is the personification of Kumāra, and the sitting figure in front is probably that of the musician Tāṇḍu—supposed to be the originator of this frantic dance called Tāṇḍava. There is a female figure to the left of Kumāra with head badly mutilated. Brahmā could be noticed above the group

with his four faces, carried by five Haṁsas or swans. Behind him are two standing figures, one possibly of an ascetic. There are three flying figures, one male and two female, in between the head of the Lord and the figure of the Brahmā. To the right, Viṣṇu is shown riding his vehicle Garuḍa, and holding the mace or Gadā in one hand and the Śaṅkha or conch in the other. Over the left shoulder of Pāravatī Indra rides on his famous elephant Airāvata.

The marriage of Ś'iva and Pāravatī, in the main cave, is another interesting specimen of sculpture. The god Ś'iva wears, as usual, the high Jaṭāmukuta, or headgear, and has put on a girdle and a robe. Only the left hand, resting on the knot of the robe, is complete, the remaining three being broken. The sacred thread is also noticeable. The front right arm is stretched to receive the hand of Pāravatī, who stands to his right and is not yet a *Vāmaṅginī*. Her figure, 8½ feet high, is well preserved except the lower portion, which is badly damaged. The bashful look of the Parvatikanyā is most expressive. Behind her is possibly her father, ready to give away his daughter. The remarkable grace and symmetry of this sculpture entitles it to be placed as one of the best of the early medieval period.

The Ardhanārīśvaraśiva, half male and half female, leaning on the bull Nandi; Pāravatī in the attitude of Māna—an affectionate angry mood soliciting the attention and love of her lord; and the Rāvaṇa under Kailāśa, which we have already noticed at Ellora, are some of the other beautiful sculptures in the Elephanta caves.

The date of the excavation of the Elephanta caves is placed roughly between the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.; the late Dr. Hirānand Śāstri, however, suggested that consideration of the technical achievement, as well as other reasons, leads to their correct date being in the sixth century A.D.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid that it has not been possible for me to go into greater detail. But this glimpse of the stupendous mass of ancient Indian cave architecture

gives you indeed some idea of the excellence of the ancient Indians in the field of action. With the dawn of independence India cannot afford to brood over the glories of the past, unmindful of the realities of the present. She extends the hand of co-operation to all and will quit herself well in her responsible

position as the most ancient partner in the comity of nations. I am reminded of what the Oxford poet has said:

“ And not through Eastern windows only
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the sun rises slow, how slowly,
But Westwards look, the land is bright.”

THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIC STUDIES

M. B. EMENEAU

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A SMALL number of scholars has carried on Indic studies in the United States of America; some of these have achieved eminence and made notable contributions in the field. One of the earliest, Fitzedward Hall (1825-1901), left America early, studied Sanskrit in India, became an instructor and then professor of Anglo-Sanskrit in Benares Government College. He then left India, not for his native country, but for England, where, in the 60's and 70's of the last century, he was professor of Sanskrit, Hindustani and Indian jurisprudence at King's College, London, librarian of the India Office, and examiner to the Civil Service Commissioners in Hindustani and Hindi and in Sanskrit. He was the first American to edit a Sanskrit text, and during his scholarly life over thirty volumes of texts, translations, and commentaries were published by him, including some of the early volumes in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. He edited for the press Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*. Though an important figure in the controversies that raged in America in the latter half of the last century over correct English, he had little influence on Oriental studies there, except in so far as he was one of the international band of scholars who in the

earlier years of Indological study performed the very necessary task of rescuing Sanskrit works from manuscripts and issuing them as books. His collection of books and manuscripts went to the library of Harvard University at his death and formed the nucleus of one of America's better Sanskrit libraries.

William Dwight Whitney (1827-86), one of the greatest names in the history of American Oriental scholarship, edited (with Roth) the *Atharva-Veda* and translated it, and published with translation and commentary several of the Vedic grammatical texts (*Prātiśākhya*s). His greatest fame, however, rests on his great grammatical works, the *Sanskrit Grammar*, and *Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*. The second edition of the *Grammar*, published in 1889, remains a standard work and will not soon be antiquated. It has retained its usefulness so long, since it is essentially based on the scientific grammar of the Hindus themselves, in effect on Pāṇini.

Whitney's successor in the chair at Yale University was Edward Washburn Hopkins (1857-1932). He translated *Manu* with A. C. Burnell, and his work on the castes as seen in *Manu* is standard. His greatest

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work, however, was on the epic—*The Great Epic of India, Epic Mythology, The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* (in volume 13 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*); all this remains of great value, in spite of the fact that the new Poona critical edition of the Mahābhārata requires that all earlier work be re-done. Hopkins's presentation of Hinduism to the lay audience, in *The History of Religions and Ethics of India*, was noteworthy.

A. V. Williams Jackson (1862-1937), at Columbia University, was a student of Iran. His writings on Zoroastrianism, his climb to Darius's inscription at Behistun (the first after Rawlinson's), and his succession of pupils in Persian subjects have not been paralleled in the American scene. His Sanskrit teaching has borne fruit also in numerous studies in the Sanskrit drama and in kāvyā by various of his pupils.

Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850-1941), for many years professor at Harvard, published Vedic studies and a translation of the Karpūramañjarī, Rājaśekhara's drama. That work of his which had the greatest influence on Indic studies in America and, indeed, in the western world in general, is his *Sanskrit Reader*, one of the chief means of induction of students into Sanskrit since its first appearance in 1884. Lanman's work as editor of the more than thirty volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series is noteworthy, for the meticulous and accurate scholarship displayed as well as for the richness of the contents that he was able to draw into this Series.

Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928), professor at the Johns Hopkins University, was one of the greatest of Vedic scholars. The list of his books on various phases of Vedic studies is impressive—an edition of the Kauśikasūtra, *The Atharva Veda* (in the *Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*), *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* (in *Sacred Books of the East*), *Rigveda Repeitions, Vedic Variants* (the inspiration and much of the work in the three volumes that have appeared was his), *Religion of the Veda*, and, most important for all students of the Veda, the *Vedic Concordance*.

His influence on his students in this field was enormous. His work on Jainism issued in *The Life of the Jain Savior Pārçvanātha*, and in numerous works by his students, perhaps most noteworthy being W. Norman Brown's exciting exploitation of the Jain (better Gujarat) school of miniature painting. Bloomfield was led, partly by his Jain studies, partly by such Hindu story-collections as the Pañcatantra and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, to a study of Indian folktale motifs. He published many papers containing detailed studies and has been followed in this by his pupils and his pupils' pupils, including the present author. His projected *Encyclopedia of Hindu Fiction-Motifs* never went beyond detailed studies and probably will for ever prove too great a task for any one scholar.

The fields especially worked by these older scholars and their pupils were the Vedas, the oldest and in some ways the most challenging, because the most archaic and difficult, of Hindu literary remains (Whitney, Lanman, Bloomfield), Jainism (Bloomfield and his pupils), folktales (again Bloomfield and his pupils). In recent years art history (Brown and that most un-American scholar, Coomaraswamy), Buddhist texts (Burlingame and, most recently, Walter E. Clark at Harvard University) and the grammar of Northern Buddhist texts (Franklin Edgerton at Yale University) have attracted attention.

Most of these studies have been, on the whole, the studies of closet scholars, concentrated on the old literature and the philological problems connected therewith. It is symptomatic that two of the greatest scholars, Whitney and Bloomfield, never went to India. This work could be carried on as the study of a dead culture couched in a dead language. The attitude was derived from German masters of the eighteenth century, rather than from Sir William Jones. However, times have changed to some extent. Almost without exception, the modern American Sanskritists and their pupils have spent longer or shorter times in India, and no Sanskritist is regarded as fully trained who has not had some first-hand contact with Hinduism as it still lives and flourishes. Attempts are made,



HEAD OF BUDDHA; SANDSTONE
Khmer, eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. (*Lent by Dr. Reginald le May.*)



HEAD OF ŚIVA; RED SANDSTONE
Mathura, fourth-fifth centuries A.D.



FRAGMENT (PROBABLY PART OF A RELIEF OF ŚIVA AND PARVATĪ); SANDSTONE
Central India, eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. *Lent by Mr. W. Ohly, London.*

PLATE IV.



TORSO OF BUDDHA; BLACK STONE

Bengal-Bihar, eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. (*Lent by Dr. Arthur Kauffmann, London.*)



BODHIDHARMA, THE FOUNDER OF CH'AN (ZEN) SECT; STONE, PAINTED
China, circa 1500 A.D. (Gift of Mrs. B. S. Seligman, London.)



BUDDHA; SCHIST
Gandhara, *circa* third century A.D.



BUDDHA; SANDSTONE
Bodhi Gaya, ninth-tenth centuries A.D.



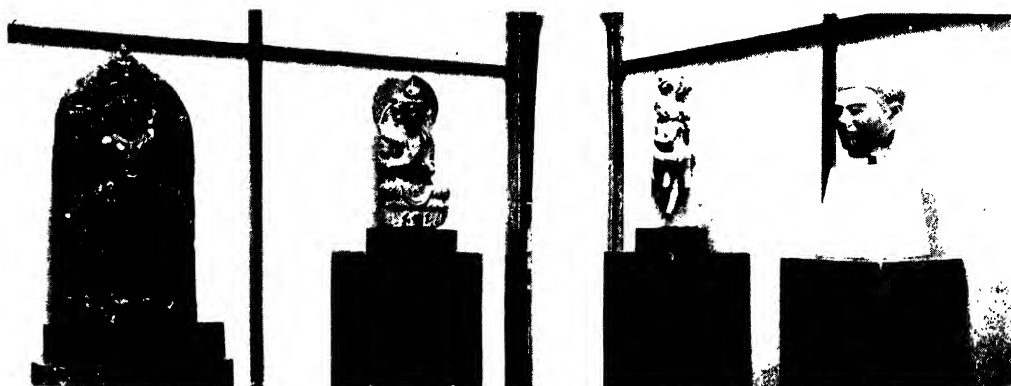
CELADON GLAZE OBJECTS FROM CHINA AND KOREA
Different periods between tenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.



YAKSHI; RED SANDSTONE
Mathura, first century A.D.



TERRACOTTA HEAD
Kashmir, *circa* eighth century A.D.



CORNER OF THE CENTRAL BAY OF THE MUSEUM (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT).

VISHNU; BLACK STONE.
Bengal, twelfth century A.D.

BUDDHA; SCHIST.
Gandhara, *circa* third-
fourth centuries A.D.

Mithuna COUPLE; SANDSTONE.
Orissa, twelfth century A.D. (*Lent by*
Baron von Der Heydt.)

BUDDHA HEAD.
(Illustration No. 1.

AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIC STUDIES

with more or less success, to use the knowledge so gained in the interpretation of texts and in the interpretation of India to the people of the United States.

This comparatively recent emphasis on first-hand contact with India has led to other sorts of study being undertaken. Studies are now made of the languages of modern India, including the Dravidian and the non-literary. If this carries the philologist in the direction of sociological studies (he who studies the language of a "primitive" community must perforce turn ethnologist in order to know what the speakers are talking about) and if professional sociologists are drawn in to Indic studies, it is the way in which Oriental studies in general are going

in the United States. There is a strong desire to know the peoples of the Orient and to understand the workings of their minds, and it seems probable that it is the philologist turned sociologist who can best achieve this and relay his knowledge to his own people.

It remains to add that the American Oriental Society was founded in 1842 "for the promotion of Oriental studies, the encouragement of research in Eastern languages and literature, and the publication of books and papers dealing with these subjects." Much publication has resulted, most, we hope, of a creditable order. The *Journal* has now completed volume 69; the *American Oriental Series* now contains thirty-two volumes, of which eleven have to do with Indic studies.

THE MUSEUM OF EASTERN ART AT OXFORD

By ASIM K. DATTA

THE opening of the new Museum of Eastern Art at Oxford has been hailed in all quarters as a significant event, marking the beginning of a new chapter in British Oriental studies. It is true that the University has not erected a new building for the museum, and that most of the objects themselves are not new to Oxford. Nevertheless, it is a new museum and as has been claimed, it can rightly be called the first of its kind in this country.

Oxford has long been a home of Oriental studies. In the eighteenth century there was no provision for the study of Indian or Chinese subjects. "Asiatic" Jones received no assistance in learning Arabic and Persian when he was at the University in the sixties. However, the Boden Professorship was created as early as 1832, and among the many distinguished men who have held the chair were renowned scholars like Horace Hayman Wilson and Monier Monier-Williams in the nineteenth century. The great Max-Müller lived in Oxford all through

the second half of the century, and in the words of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "his house was a place of pilgrimage for all Indians visiting England." The Indian Institute, of which the foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales in 1883, was built by the University to serve as the centre of Indological studies. It was mainly the efforts of Monier-Williams, who travelled to India to raise money there, that made the venture possible. The provision of a big galleried hall for the purpose of a museum was part of the original plan of the building. At that time India was still a far-away country with mysteries and wonders, and so the curators displayed many miscellaneous objects to satisfy the curiosity of visitors. There were clay models of ethnological types, examples of various present-day crafts and industries, textiles, utensils, musical instruments, replicas of temples and palaces, and even models of villages in clay.

Reorganization of the museum was given a high priority in the post-war plans of the

MUSEUM OF EASTERN ART AT OXFORD

University. The Scarborough Committee drew attention to the fact that so far mainly the languages of Oriental civilizations have been studied, while their religion, philosophy and art have been neglected, in the British Universities. To make good the deficiency in one aspect at least, the University appointed Dr. William Cohn as Adviser in Indian and Far Eastern Art and Archæology. They also accepted with alacrity his suggestion that the art objects of the Indian Institute and the Far Eastern collection of the Ashmolean Museum should be combined in one place, and thus the idea of the Museum of Eastern Art was born. The hall and gallery of the Institute were cleared of the miscellaneous exhibits and the combined collection was arranged there. The greatest value of the collection thus displayed is that it offers a very good opportunity of making a comparative study of the art of different oriental countries and of different epochs. Students of comparative religion will find this collection equally valuable, for painting and sculpture in India and countries influenced by Indian culture were mostly religious in inspiration and purpose. The new museum was formally opened in November, 1949. A new building is contemplated by the authorities—but that remains a question for the future. Until then, the Museum of Eastern Art will be housed in the Indian Institute. Dr. Cohn is to be congratulated on the way in which “he has converted the ungainly Victorian hall into manageable cubicles by the introduction of simple screens and showcases. The arrangement of the exhibits is a model of what can be achieved with very modest means and careful thought.”

The objects displayed in the museum are from the “Asiatic countries proper”—that is to say, the countries washed by the Indian and Pacific oceans. The Near East is not represented, for it belongs to the Mediterranean world. Islamic art, of course, is not excluded, and the ceramics and brass vessels of Persia, Mughal paintings, and tiles from Persia and Turkey illustrate some of its diverse aspects. Thanks to the great bene-

factors, Francis Mallet, Gasper Henry Farrer and Professor Sayce, the museum has an unbroken sequence of splendid examples of Chinese ceramics, from the prehistoric times to the nineteenth century. Sir Herbert Ingram's loan of some fine pieces fills the gap of the wonderful bronze sacrificial vessels of the Shang and Chou periods. In this article, however, we will confine ourselves to the exhibits from India, Pakistan, Siam and Cambodia.

In every museum in the West where Indian antiquities are displayed, Gandhara pieces are the most numerous. This is not only because European interest in Indian art was first aroused by the discovery of the Greco-Buddhist sculptures, but also because this was a very prolific school and yielded friezes and steles in great quantity. Western eyes have been able also to understand and appreciate this style with the minimum amount of effort, as it is the least alien of all oriental art, having some links with the West. Of the pieces in the museum, there is one particularly good example, a Buddha, in *Abhayamudra*, standing about 4 feet in height, showing deep spirituality. The museum is extremely fortunate, thanks to the gift of Professor Beazley, in having a few fine stucco heads from Hadda (first centuries A.D.) So far only a few Buddhist relics have come out of Afghanistan, and they are mostly confined to the Musée Guimet. Dr. le May has loaned from his collection of Khmer art some exceptionally fine Buddha heads. The strange smile of the Khmer Buddhas has a high spiritual quality—it eminently succeeds in conveying the idea of the bliss of *Nirvana*, which the Gandhara pieces attained only very rarely. One very interesting sculpture from Cambodia is a Buddha seated on the coils of *Mucilinda* snake which spreads its hood over his head like an umbrella.

Of the Mathura school, one of the most important purely indigenous developments, the museum has a dozen small pieces, partly Buddhist, Jain and Hindu in character, but in rather poor state of preservation. But one of the treasures of the museum comes from

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that area, a massive head of Śiva in red sandstone. The date of the sculpture should be somewhere in the fifth century A.D. the age of the high excellence of Hindu culture of the Gupta period, and this piece maintains the best traditions of that school. It is a masterpiece of Indian art. The effect is an expression of concentrated energy and grandeur. This can be contrasted with another jewel of the museum, exhibited in the same bay, a *Mithuna* couple from Orissa of about the twelfth century, which is its opposite in every aspect; in theme, in treatment and in expression. The standing figures are in miniature, about 18 inches high; the features are sharp, the limbs are delicately slim, the seductive smile and the rhythm of the curves of the bodies create an enchanting effect. Another contrast is between a standing Buddha of the ninth century from Bodh Gaya, and two Vishnus from Bengal, two or three centuries later, revealing two different aspects of the Pala style. The former is an example of depth in simplicity. The Buddha stands alone under a tree, in *Abhayanudra*, against a plain background, with a transcendental expression in his face. The Vishnus are in the wonderful blackstone of Bengal, but the style there is baroque. The main images, the attendant figures, the background, all are richly carved and covered with ornaments. The Vishnus have majesty, that is to say *Rajasik* quality, while the Buddha is full of *Salvik* virtue.

There are a few Tantrik bronzes, from Tibet, Nepal and Bihar, all in miniature.

Mr. H. N. Spalding has presented a lacquered Buddha from China, which though actually of the eighteenth century has great iconographical value, as it represents one of the earliest Buddha forms introduced from India into China. The style is schematic, the figure is rigid, but its importance in comparative study is that it links up the different styles in the mainland of India, Gandhara and later developments in China.

In terra cotta there are interesting seals

and votive tablets from Bodh Gaya, Cambodia and Burma. But the most interesting of them all, and indeed one of the most valuable in the whole museum, is a miniature figurine, Sri-Ma-Devata, of the Sunga period (c. 150 B.C.). This goddess of prosperity is luxuriously loaded with ornaments in every possible part of her body, and in the background coins are raining in showers from the sky. Though burdened with jewellery, her pose does not lack sensuous appeal.

As is well known, the Bodleian has one of the richest collections of Mughal and Rajput miniatures, and by arrangement four new paintings will be exhibited in the museum every term. There are coloured reproductions of the frescoes from Ajanta and Bagh in India, and the contemporary Sigiriya cave paintings in Ceylon, to give an idea of those wonderful schools of painting. But in this section the most interesting items are the few paintings of the Kalighat school. One hundred years ago Professor Monier-Williams had bought these folk paintings, sold to the pilgrims in the Kali temple in Calcutta, for one anna each. Today their value is very great to the art historian. The school is extinct; the painters, who were simple people following a hereditary craft, have drifted away to other professions. But their work displays a naïve virtuosity in form and rhythm, and gives a clue to the techniques of Jamini Roy and Gopal Ghose of today. They will also attract the attention of many admirers of Léger.

In the inscription in Sanskrit at the entrance of the Indian Institute the founders had given expression to this aspiration: "By the favour of God, may the learning and literature of India be ever held in honour, and may the mutual friendship of India and England constantly increase." We can read "East" for India and add fine arts to the list. The Institute is now better equipped than ever before to serve that cherished object of the founders.

SURVIVALS OF FOLK TRADITION IN THE INDIAN THEATRE

AN ESSAY

By MULK RAJ ANAND

I

IN our villages the performance of a play, usually called Ras or Nautanki or Tama-sha, is often a jumble rather like the European revue, consisting of scenes from a religious or an historical play, interspersed with humorous sketches which are based mainly on satirical narratives about the evil landlord, the moneylender or the Sarkar, and replete with songs, songs and more songs. The relieving grace of the village play is that in it we get a simple survival of the most ancient theatrical principle: the players and the audience are one, forming a unity through the circles in which they sit round the improvised booth of the stage while the actors walk up, to and from the dressing room, through the clearing which the audience obligingly affords as and when necessary. Often the audience joins in community singing, and the illusion is steadily and surely built up by the actors and the audience acting together, and the spectacle is utterly moving at certain moments. This, however, is not always the case, and the general decay which percolated into our lives through the work of codifiers and grammarians of emotions and moods a thousand years ago has tarnished the humanity of even the village players, the puritanism of a moribund social order having inhibited the freedom of the mummer, till the taboo against women acting on the village stage became almost complete. In most parts of the country the professional mummery in the village, like the potters or the weavers, form a caste of their own, such as *bhanda*, *nakals* and *mirasies*. They are itinerant players who visit the houses of the peasants at marriages, births and festivals, regaling the audience with jokes and songs and recitals for which they are paid in kind,

but kept at an orthodox distance, as they are regarded more or less as untouchables.

There are, of course, many self-conscious attempts at the evolution of a new theatrical tradition. For over a hundred years, mostly under the impulse of the Western European drama, foreign and indigenous plays have been written and produced. In Bengal particularly the genius of the Tagore household gave a definite shape to this art, and after the rich creative activity of the last two generations there has emerged there a professional stage of a fairly high order. But in most other parts of the country theatrical activity is restricted to the annual show of the college dramatic society—usually playing in English to an audience whose own kinetic inheritance is something quite different—and the circus-theatre of the Parsi entrepreneurs and their imitators.

There seems little hope of redeeming the great theatrical tradition built up by ancient and classical India until we take stock of the whole situation, in full view of the changes ushered by the industrial revolution, and select from the remnants of the old tradition the basis on which a synthesis with modern innovations in theatrical art can be attempted.

There can be no denying that there is a great positive factor in our favour: our people are still possessed by an inordinate love of drama and often display natural histrionic talent of a high order. The presence of this instinct is important. For the attempt to mould an art form the emotional inheritance of the people is important, especially in an art form which draws so largely on the senses.

All the old forms of the drama did not die out. They survived in the dances of the primi-

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tive tribes, in the ritualistic dances, pageants and tableaux of temples, in the several dances and mimes practised throughout the festivals which celebrate nature myths in our villages, and in the enactment of the heroic deeds of our ancestors through the recitation of romantic narratives. The Ras or Nautanki, the Ram and Krishna Lila, the enactment of the victory of the Pandus over the Kurus, the Muharram, the Holi, as well as the several harvest dance-dramas, are the apotheosis of the old drama, survivals which are an important reservoir of energy from which a new living art of the theatre can grow. For we have to begin almost at the beginning and come full circle if we are to build up an indigenous tradition rooted in the soil and in the consciousness of our people: our people who have remained, despite all the "civilizing" processes they have undergone, despite the sophisticated classical city dramas, and below the surface of codes and inventories, the custodians of certain elemental forms. No sudden leap into the future can be attempted, but only an integral advance made from these roots, if we are to develop a truly national drama.

Does this merely mean that we can return to the grunting and howling of the primitive man or resurrect the simple dance-dramas of the past and be content with this revivalism in the iron age? The answer is No, for we cannot put the clock back even if we wanted to. All that is implied here is that we cannot be content to import the smart comedy manufactured in Europe during the machine age under circumstances very different from those under which we have grown to awareness today. We have, instead, to seek inspiration in the vitality of those impulses which have persisted in the subconscious strata of our culture: that is to say, among our people who have lived close to nature in all the process of history and have remained unaffected by the currents which first moulded them into sophisticated forms and then led to the decay of the classical and city drama of about two thousand years ago.

If there is one general fact which may seem to explain the decay of sensibility in the city theatre, it is probably the puritanism which began to seep through our bones when the medieval codifiers and grammarians dammed the floodgates of creative art by a hidebound criticism. The soulless formalism with which they tabulated moods and emotions atrophied those very moods and emotions, and for centuries there has been nothing left to us but the memories and scattered remnants of the classical tradition so far as sophisticated drama is concerned.

It is no use denying that today the theatre as well as the other arts are looked down upon as unfit for the association of the sons and daughters (especially the daughters) of respectable middle-class citizens.

Of course, there have been low plays and dissolute players, and the same tradition which ensured the sanctity of the wife forced the courtesan to provide entertainment. But this perverse morality did not always poison theatrical art. In fact, the moral urge, which has now turned sour, supplied the inspiration to the early drama. For play-acting began as prayer: our ancestors chanted in unison for plentiful harvests, and when they were intent on the resurrection of the king hero and wished to gain immortality. The old drama was thus rooted in ritual and not in entertainment. And in its later development the play universally enacted the victory of life over death, till this enactment by itself survived as an aesthetic ideal. Throughout the folk play religious observance remained the driving force. And ethical purpose has been most pronounced even in the clowning between the acts of the morality or miracle plays. The actor has forever been presenting what the people wanted to see, the revenge over evil and the triumph of good. As, however, there can be no showmanship without music, paint and lights, naturally the pleasure of the senses has remained an integral part of the village theatre, but it is morality none the less. And this is so still in our folk as well as city drama. For we have come late to industrialism and have not yet evolved an extensive middle class interested, like its

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European counterpart, in the escapist comedy and because our long struggle for independence has kept art forms closer to the people. And, as I have insisted, whenever drama has been nearer the people it has sounded the moral note.

In spite of this general decay a number of pioneer men of the theatre have begun to mould a new tradition out of the old. A great deal of the dance-drama perfected by Uday Shankar at his Almora centre, as well as the shadow plays he created after his first revivals of interest in the dances of India, are a case in point. *The Rhythm of Life* was, for instance, an amalgam of motives taken from the rich storehouse of people's memory and transformed through the organization which Shankar had borrowed from Europe. And much of the work of his colleagues like Shanti Burdhan in *The Spirit of India* and *India Immortal* ballets as well as in the *Holi* and *Ram Lila* dance plays, owes its existence to the principles developed at Almora. The adaptation by the various language groups of the Indian People's Theatre Association of the ancient Tamashas and Powadas in Western India and the folk forms of Andhra illustrate the same process.

In this context let us take the surviving folk forms of Andhra in South India and see what use has been made of them by the People's Theatre.

The main forms current there were as follows: (1) Burrakathas (bardic recitals and folk songs); (2) Harikatha; (3) Veedhi Natakam (open-air dramas); (4) regular plays; (5) choruses.

Burrakathas, or bardic recitals, were the most popular of all folk forms. The context of these was generally supplied by a racy poetic and prose narrative like the *Ballad of Venkataramani*, the boy who ate his mother's ears. The usual Burrakatha group is composed of three people, one of whom is the principal singer. He begins the narrative as a leader, while his two other companions supply the chorus effect, all of them using the long Andhra drum as accompaniment. The

mode of narration is punctuated by significant pauses in order to heighten the dramatic effect of the story, and the musicians occasionally take a few steps forward, or circle round to the rhythm of the drum at appropriate moments during the narration to emphasize certain emotions, or to round off certain passages of the story.

During the decay of feudal society, when the position of the village bard became reduced to that of a mere hanger-on at the nobleman's court, the bardic recital became the heritage of the beggars who went from door to door singing for a bowl of rice, or else the most disreputable elements of society. But I have to see how the groups of the I.P.T.A. in Andhra have rescued this form and, by composing new ballads with a fresh social content, have combined a new urgency without diminishing any of the vigour, gaiety and joy inherent in the form itself.

I shall never forget how three peasant boys held an audience of thirty thousand citizens of Guntur spell-bound to the early hours of the morning with their recitation of the *Ballad of Venkataramani*. The newest ballads composed for *Burrakathas* display a variety of thematic content, from the life of the peasants to social reform and the Bengal famine. This form is especially suitable to the telling of heroic stories.

The traditional use of the *Harikatha* was for the narration of stories from the epics and the Puranas. Song, prose, poetry and dance were all interwoven by the artist who was called Haridas, servant of Vishnu. The people's theatre groups have taken over several Haridas's and written up popular themes of everyday life in the convention of the Harikatha narrative, thus retaining the purity of the old form, but making use of it to extract pathos from audiences used to the strict metrical verse.

Singing mendicants are a common feature of life in India, but they abounded in Andhra, dressed in strange garbs and wandering over the land, fortune-telling, selling medicines, diagnosing diseases and generally exhorting people to be good and charitable. Here, as in dealing with other folk forms, the I.P.T.A.

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has retained the old style but changed the content. Instead of diagnosing bodily ills, the mendicants now diagnose social diseases, prescribe appropriate methods of healing, particularly insisting on an incision here and a major operation there, and rousing the community to action. The fortune teller now foretells the fate of whole peoples and nations in terms of social analysis. And the mendicant's role is reversed, in so far as now he preaches the social morality of concerted endeavour and not personal retirement from the problems of the world.

Veedhi Natakam, or the open-air stage, seems to have been used by itinerant dramatic troupes for ages in the villages of Andhra. But with the coming of modern Western drama with all its paraphernalia of elaborate stage sets and footlights, the convention fell into disrepute in the eyes of the more snobbish town dwellers. The taboo was further encouraged by the movie. But, as in the neighbouring Tamilnad, where the open-air play *Teruvukk-kootu* was popular, the Andhra open-air stage employed a highly developed technique like the Kathakali of Malabar, being only less complicated in regard to the make-up of the actors. Now, this is forming the basis of the modern play. A play called *Hitler Prabhavam*, the downfall of Hitler, was written in this Veedi Natakam style and proved an enormous success. And the Andhra groups have been able to build up a repertory of several plays since, which have been performed before vast audiences.

Kolatam, the popular folk dance of Andhra, was like the *garba* of Gujerat, a vigorous and muscular effort. This and the more feminine Lambadi and Bathakamma dances are now being used as the basis of dance-dramas and ballets, which retain the costumes and the steps of the original but evolve new patterns.

The energy and seriousness with which the Andhra people's groups have transformed their folk forms is an example of what could be done in other linguistic zones.

Bengal was the first to receive the impact of British rule, and through the land reforms

of 1795, known as the Permanent Settlement Act, a landlord class arose. A middle section of absentee landed gentry, popularly known as the Bhadralog, began to be increasingly out of touch with the peasantry, the reservoir of folk culture. As in politics so in the arts, Bengal, therefore, developed a highly talented city culture, centred mainly in Calcutta.

Already before the battle of Plassey an English theatre was in existence in Calcutta and Warren Hastings is mentioned as one of its subscribers. At this Calcutta theatre, sparkling comedies like *The School for Scandal* and *The Beaux Stratagem*, were staged under the direction of Mr. Massinck, said to have been sent out to India by David Garrick himself. At first the female roles were taken by men, but, following the example set by Mrs. Bristow, women were later introduced. Only the rich landlords attended apart from the British.

Similar English theatres were founded variously by a Russian, Herasim Lebedeff, by Professor Hayman Wilson and others, and English classics, mainly Shakespeare and the eighteenth-century dramatists, were presented.

Under the impulse of these theatres the landed gentry of Bengal gave private shows of which one of the first was the popular medieval drama *Vidyasunder*, enacted by a cast of men as well as women, in the house of Nabinchandra Basu in Sham Bazar.

After this the idea of applying European stage conventions to indigenous material spread and the amateur theatre flourished, fed mostly on English and Indian classics. Some attempt was made at a synthesis. In the opening scene, for instance, it was not the manager, but the *nata* (actor) and a *nati* (actress) who appeared, to deliver a kind of prologue to the play, and the scenic representation was improvised in a form which was symbolic rather than realistic.

These private theatres, lavishly financed by the gentry, flourished, and original plays on the English model began to be written, like *Is this Civilization?* by Michael Madhusudan Datta.

Girishchander Ghosh launched a regular

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National Theatre in 1872 with a professional company. And many of the later theatres like "The Star," "The Minerva," "The Manmohan" were modelled on Ghosh's effort. The repertory of these theatres included Puranic plays, rewritten to suit new conditions, adaptations from Shakespeare, historical and social plays. Highly skilful writing began to be produced, such as the plays of Dvijendralal Ray and Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Rabindra Nath Tagore, whose life work as a writer coincided with the development of a national self-awareness, went further than most in his dramas to emancipate himself and Bengali literature from foreign forms. He evolved a highly developed, technically efficient style of his own in dramatic writing which owed not a little to the folk culture of Bengal.

The great contribution of the British impact had been the opening up of well-equipped theatres in Calcutta. And here, apart from Shakespeare, who enjoyed a great vogue in the many adaptations of his plays into Bengali, the work of indigenous dramatists was enacted. But the themes continued to be taken from the old Puranic stories with an occasional dash of the revue-cum-tragedy-cum-farce-cum-opera which took off contemporary manners and customs. Towards the early years of the twentieth century, however, the social revolt was already in the offing. And it had its repercussion on the arts in the production of plays like *Nildarpan*, which treated of the conditions in the indigo plantations of Eastern India.

The tradition of the Bengali middle-class stage, therefore, was the only vehicle in Bengal until just before the beginning of the second world war, when a strong wave of anti-fascism was maturing which led to the merging of the Progressive Writers' movement with the Indian People's Theatre Association.

In 1944 was produced the play *Homeopathy*, written by Manoranjan Bhattacharya, a professional actor and a dramatist of distinction. And in the same bill was Bijon Bhattacharya's *Jabandandhi*, together with the poem entitled *Madhubanshir Goli*, by Jyotirendra Moitra.

Under the stress of the Bengal famine was produced a play, *Navanna*, which will remain a landmark in the history of the Indian theatre for the heights it touched as sheer art, the scenery, costume, acting and general organization having coalesced to produce lasting memories.

Navanna, or New Harvest, was written by Bijon Bhattacharya and produced by the author in collaboration with Shambu Mitra, with the assistance of Manoranjan Bhattacharya and Gour Ghose. The theme of the play, which is in four acts, is the life of a Bengali peasant during the famine.

The Bengali theatre, however, is primarily a city stage without much connection with the villages.

The next most highly developed theatre in India was that in Mahratti language, which arose mainly in Poona and Bombay. Like the Bengali stage, it began mainly under British influence, but it soon emancipated itself and produced a considerable drama, which is well-written literature and fairly actable. Beginning with Vishnupanth Bhawe, who wrote on amorous and pathetic themes a number of experimental plays which rationalized the old medieval performance and led to the formation of a professional company, the Bhawe Players, there arose the Aryoddharaka Company in Poona, the Maharashtra Company and the Shanunagaravasi Company. The repertory of these ventures was the mixed fare of the early theatres of Bengal. But if it is remembered that Mahratta power was still a dominant feature of Western India till the middle of the nineteenth century, one can see how the Mahratti stage soon became imbued with national self-awareness. Historical plays about the famous Mahratta heroes from Shivaji downwards began to be written and presented. As these were banned the Mahratta dramatists invented subtle stratagems to present their point of view in allegorical fantasies or in farcical comedies. And there was evolved the humorous social play, a speciality of the Maharashtra stage. Later,

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under the influence of Ibsen and Shaw, Mama Varerkar wrote social plays in a realistic style, where a synthesis between European convention and Indian content was attempted. As a leading contemporary dramatist Varerkar gave a tremendous lead to the younger groups which have been recreating the Maharashtra village theatre through the Powada and the Tamasha.

Under the impulse of these vital actors a Mahratta worker wrote a play called *Dada*. He portrayed in this piece the day-to-day life of the Bombay workers, their sufferings, hardships and frustrations, with an authenticity born of grim experience and with a humanity characteristic of his class. The audiences were thrilled to see their own everyday lives put before them so clearly, and seemed to be deeply moved by the realization that they could alter the conditions of their lives through their own strength.

The example of Bhave had greatly influenced the Parsi community in Bombay. Rich, talented and easily adaptable, the Parsis took up both Gujarati drama and the Hindustani stage. The essentially practical bent of their mind, however, tended to put commercial success above artistic achievement and they soon succeeded in commercializing every theatrical effort. That they produced men with a rich histrionic talent there is no doubt, but the lack of a language of their own made it difficult for them to develop drama which could survive the years. And yet they occupied the theatrical life of India for more than half a century, with the Alfred, Madan and Balliwala companies performing, mainly in Hindustani, plays which were either adaptations from Shakespeare or amalgams of socio-historical-musical content.

The real Gujarati theatre arose, however, as a reaction to the Parsi stage.

Ranachodbhai Udayaram began to adapt the Sanskrit classics. He wrote a popular play called *Harishchandra* and then a social tragedy. After him a school teacher called Narottam started an amateur company;

three business men founded the Gujarati Company, and later there arose the Bombay Gujarati Company of Dayashanker. It was through *The Morbi of Oza* and *The Doshi* of Dahyabhai Dholsha that the modern Gujarati stage arose.

C. C. Mehta, a highly talented Gujarati dramatist, has gone much further than any other writer from his linguistic group in bringing into the written play the kind of idiom and technique which may perfect the modern Gujarati drama. His play on the life of the railway workers, *Ag-Guri*, has become an important piece in the repertory of the *avant-garde* theatre. Mehta has a very efficient knowledge of technique, particularly influenced by his knowledge of the gadgets of the radio, and he can juggle with his theme, mixing tears with laughter and suspense, through his intense awareness of people. And he deliberately sets out to instruct and moralize in the Shavian manner, as in his play on the life of the Gujarati poet, *Narmad*. But the popularity of his plays among the low-priced seats in the auditorium shows that he writes through an alliance with common moods, for nowhere in the world can one touch the core of the pit unless one is instinctively connected with human emotions. He seems to have taken Goethe's advice: "He who would work for the stage should study the stage."

8

An attempt towards a Hindustani theatre was made by Imanat, who wrote his play *Indar Sabha* at the behest of Wajid Ali Shah, the Nawab of Oudh, and enacted it at the court with the Nawab in the main role.

Although a great many other arts had flourished at the courts of the Great Moguls, the theatre never enjoyed any vogue there. Only in the villages, among the peasantry, the pageantry of the garland of festivals which decorates the year, both Hindu and Muhammadan, kept the folk forms of Nautanki and Ras alive. The poet Imanat seems to have drawn very largely on this.

The Parsis, who recreated the Hindustani stage, though starting under the impulse of

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Imanat's *Indar Sabha* and the copious adaptations of the Elizabethans, soon made the theatre only a business proposition. The Balliwala, Alfred and the New Alfred theatrical companies of Bombay, as well as the Madan theatre company of Calcutta flourished on the formula of "Give the public what it wants"—songs, jokes, bons-mots, ham acting and the crudest melodrama.

The pure drama of the more sensitive writers like Abdul Halim Sharar became more and more literary, while the commercial stage merely decayed till the film and the talkie came and sealed its fate for a time.

The more sensitive minds of the younger generation of Hindustani writers began from their different angles to tackle the overpowering tragedy of Indian life. And a new poetry and prose were born, arising from the dejection of the soul, but intent on *struggle*. Nor were they daunted by the ineffectuality of much of their efforts in a country teeming with disasters. The notion of *struggle* itself became for these the chief catharsis, the elevating circumstance.

There is no writer under forty today who will deny that at one time or another he did not subscribe to the dominant influence of the Progressive Writers' Association which was formed in 1935. And the movement which this body generated has unleashed a tremendous amount of poetry and prose in which the conditions of our existence are constantly related to the extreme limit of possibilities.

The main stream of this movement met the corresponding theatrical current, which had started from very humble beginnings in the Indian People's Theatre founded by Anil de Silva, a young Singhalese woman writer, in Bangalore, but which had matured in the vast network of I.P.T.A. branches all over the country.

The chief language group of the I.P.T.A. is the Hindustani group. And the most consistent writer of this group has been Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, whose chief contribution, a play entitled *Zubeida*, enjoyed a terrific popularity among audiences both in Western and Northern India.

Zubeida is the name of a girl from the United Provinces who is stirred by the dirges of the funeral processions and the spirited songs of the relief workers outside her house to cast away her veil and join the volunteers. She dies, like many other people, through the lack of an anti-cholera vaccine. Abbas made a conscious attempt in this play to unite the public life of processions, with their chants and slogans, with the private life of the Muslim household, and he tried to create almost a new form of drama very akin to the living newspaper. And I think he demonstrated one way out of the theatrical debacle—that is to say, from the peasant play towards the documentary theatre.

The recent productions of adaptations based on Gogol's *Inspector General* and the Irish play *Remembered Forever* (*Desh Bhagat*) were highly successful efforts in tapping the real emotions of Indian audiences, with their incipient reserves of laughter in the face of the extraordinary anachronisms of our society.

But by far the greatest contribution to the Hindustani stage has surely been made in recent years by the actor-producer Prithvi Raj Kapoor with his two productions *Deewar* and *Pathan*.

With an uncanny theatrical instinct, Prithvi Raj seized upon certain memories of his village life as it was presented in the *Ras* of North-west India and, rationalizing several motives of the folk play, he has knit them into the framework of two modern plays dealing with contemporary themes.

Deewar describes in a fable the transition from the good life of the old India to the divisions of the new. Two brothers, who lived happily with the whole village community, are gradually estranged and ultimately a division of all the property is forced, signified by the wall which is created to divide the house. This barrier is ultimately destroyed when the peasants revolt against the misery and hunger following the partition, and the two brothers are reunited.

I am afraid that, moving as is this play, and a fairly good example of the community spirit informing the three-act drama, the bad

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stage sets and indifferent costuming destroyed the illusion to a great extent, though its vitality and urgency was not lost upon people, who have been flocking to see it now for almost two years.

But no Hindustani play that I have read or seen has impressed me with its integrity quite as the simple, starkly beautiful and elemental drama of the life on the frontier, entitled *Pathan*.

The story of the friendship between the two families of a Khan and a Hindu nobleman portrays the deathless loyalty which is the essence of the code of honour of this part of the world, even as the exaction of the ultimate penalty by those who have a feud with these two families witnesses to the evil inherent in this relentless society, evil resulting from the fact that the enemy of the Khan was a Khasadar paid by the overlords. The tenderness of the relations between the two households, and in their relations with their servants and retainers during birth, marriage and death, is unfolded in a pageant which is almost documentary in its realism.

The rhythm of the play is slow, especially in the beginning, but that was perhaps inevitable to an attempt to portray a simple life in which things do not happen so easily and which depends less upon wit from moment to moment as upon the inexhaustible vigour of the characters presented in the round, with their strengths and their weaknesses and with an inimitable dependence on the reality of life itself. But, throughout, with its beautiful setting in the little castle home of the Khan (what a terrific improvement on the sets of *Deewar*!), a subtle doom is built up, the inevitable progression from happiness to tears, the catharsis of disaster. The audience knows as it becomes involved in the talk and the sports of this household, its piety and its good sense, as well as its follies, that the beautiful life cannot last. And the nemesis comes surely when the Khan sacrifices his own son as an appeasement for the shooting in self-defence by the son of his friend, the Hindu nobleman, to the enemies who want to carry out the feud according to the formula, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

The point which I want to make, however, is that in so far as the poetry of the tension between good and evil remains incipient here and the overt balance of justice is adjusted, this play is a morality. And yet in so far as evil prospers and the good characters suffer as victims of God's justice this drama is reminiscent of the Elizabethan stage. But to the extent to which certain individuals emerge, who question the Mullah's interpretation of the religious code and even upset the traditions of the old society, as by taking to education, this drama is verging on the modern. Altogether, *Pathan* stands with the Bengali play *Navanna* on the cross roads of the old and the new traditions, and it is equally revolutionary as it presents our Indian life with an anxious regard for aesthetic values which brooks no compromise with the tawdry habiliments of the Balliwala theatre.

And it is curious that, because Prithvi Raj has an instinct for life, he does not fall a prey to the cheap Americanism of the comedy which many of our smart Alecs regard as the be-all and end-all of the theatre, but he unselfconsciously includes all the political and social struggles which are taboo in Broadway and Shaftesbury Avenue. Politics is part of ethics to Prithvi Raj, and the courage with which he goes straight to the heart of the conflict makes his productions a significant part of our struggle for cultural emancipation.

The irony of the theatrical situation in India is, however, shown by the fact that the second biggest city in India cannot provide a theatre to its pioneer actor-producer, and after all the agony of his battle for this art Prithvi Raj Kapoor can only give three morning shows at the Opera House over the week-ends!

But his productions have given a great fillip to theatrical life among the middle classes, while the younger I.P.T.A. groups have helped by taking simpler forms of drama from the peasantry and giving them to the peasantry.

It is this dual programme that may build up the groundwork for a theatrical tradition in our country. For we have to go to the middle classes garbed in costume, and show

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how ridiculous they are; and we have to go to the poor dressed as the poor, and lift them up with their own cries till their calamities become incarnate and compel a change.

I feel that is a truth which applies everywhere. For, not only do the peculiar exigencies of India require the conservation of the two main techniques which appeal to the two chief layers of the population, but the synthesis of the two will bring us to the fundamental of a new kind of theatrical expression, drawn from both. The community technique of the folk theatre, which may be impossible to recreate in its old form, could lend many conventions with which the three-act European form could be revitalized, especially the community spirit, so that drama becomes a joint effort of the actors and the audience. Thus may be achieved the stage which Lope de Vega had in mind when he wrote: "The company . . . was like some faces, not a perfect feature in it, but, because of the harmony with which they are united, the face is beautiful."

There is no lack of inspiration in the remnants of the broken tradition of our

theatre. Always in our country the place and educative value of drama in soul culture seems to have been recognized. Training of the emotions and control of the body were aimed at. The actor deliberately handled and expressed feelings and emotions and in the process his body became the vehicle of certain moods, often remaining possessed and yet unaffected. A clear intellectual perception enabled the actor to display emotions without being affected by them and thus learnt to handle emotions when they welled up in actual life. Now, though we cannot gain much by reviving the formalism of the ancient theatre, it is likely that we will gain enormously by inquiring into the craft of the old theatre in comedy, tragedy and farce as well as in the morality play.

And as we adapt our knowledge of the survivals of the old folk theatre to the needs of today, it is possible that a new indigenous tradition of the Indian theatre may be built up which is unique to our country and which may contribute something different to the forms current in the contemporary European theatre.

GULER ART

By J. C. FRENCH

GULER is in the Kangra Valley, home of Rajput chivalry, where beauty of landscape is rivalled by beauty of traditional art. Guler State was a medieval offshoot from Kangra State, the ancient source of Rajput rule in the Hills, as the Himalayas are often called. It was founded in A.D. 1405. In the fifteenth century the Raja of Guler built a castle at Haripur. It dominates the quaint little town of Haripur, with a semicircle of hills on one side and a river on the other. The river is a mountain torrent, set in a deep ravine. The narrow street of the town finishes in a lofty gateway carved with the figures of Ram and Hanuman

as protecting deities. It is similar to the outer gate of Tira Sujanpur, which is shown in my article "Kangra Architecture" in ART AND LETTERS. The Haripur gate overlooks the river, down to which a steep flight of steps leads. In Haripur town in the evening can be seen the local Rajput gentry taking the air, white-moustached, thin, erect and elegant, carrying their canes in a manner subtly suggestive of swords, typical *vieux sabreurs*, as often as not with a row of medals. These are retired soldiers of the Indian Army. Their serving comrades are away with their regiments, helping to swell the ranks of the famous Dogras of the Indian Army. The



RAJA BIKRAM SINGH OF GULER AND HIS BROTHER ON ELEPHANT
Collection of the Raja of Guler

Photo by T. G. P. Co.



KRISHNA AND HIS CONSORT ON GARUDA
Collection of the Raja of Guler



SHIVA AND PARVATI ON NANDI
Collection of the Raja of Guler

PLATE IV.



SPOTTED DEER
Lahore Museum

Photo by J. C. French

military fame of these Rajputs goes back through the ages to the Mahabharata and the dawn of Indian history. As in the past so nowadays the Kangra Valley is the home of soldiers.

A fine picture from Haripur is a scene from the Ramayana "Demons coming out from Lanka to attack Rama's army of monkeys and bears." It is of an unusually large size for a Kangra Valley picture (54×76 cm.) and may have been a design for a mural fresco. It is the frontispiece of my book "Himalayan Art," and was shown in the exhibition of Indian art in the Royal Academy in 1947-48 (No. 670).

Besides Haripur there was another great castle in Guler State. This is Kotlah, second only to Haripur in size and importance. It is shown in my article "Kangra Architecture" already mentioned. Like Kangra Fort, it was garrisoned by the Moguls from 1620. And, like Kangra, it was recovered from the Moguls towards the close of the eighteenth century. Dhian Singh, Wazir of the Raja of Guler, took it in 1785, and seized the opportunity to set himself up as a ruling prince, independent of his master. The castle was so strong that he was able to resist not only the latter but even the great Sansar Chand, Maharaja of Kangra and overlord of the Western Hills. Bhup Singh, who succeeded in 1790, was the last ruling Raja of Guler. Galled by the supremacy of Sansar Chand, he invited in the Gurkhas to help him. They had fought their way to his neighbourhood from Nepal right through the intervening Rajput Himalayan states. They came and invaded Kangra and besieged the fort in 1806. Sansar Chand in turn appealed to the Sikhs. In 1809 Ranjit Singh came and defeated the Gurkhas and drove them away. In 1811 he annexed Guler, and the Raja from a ruling prince became a landowner, a position which his descendant holds today. And Ranjit Singh's Sikh general, Desa Singh Majithia, captured Kotlah Castle and ended the rule of the revolted Wazir. "Like master, like man."

Guler is at the entrance to the Kangra Valley, where it joins the Punjab plain. It is

conveniently placed for intercourse with it, and is easily accessible to the cultural influences of the great Indian world beyond. Among these was Mogul art. The Mogul emperors, coming from Central Asia and in close contact with Persia, brought with them into India Persian art, with its brilliant decorative sense and calligraphic line. The union of this painting with the traditional work of India, known to us from frescoes and painted book-covers from the time of Ajanta onwards, resulted in Mogul art. Again the meeting and marriage of this Mogul art with the old Indian art of the Rajput Himalayas produced the art of the Kangra Valley, the last and not least beautiful flower of India's traditional art.

Early in this century the Raja of Guler left the castle at Haripur and built a house at a place called Guler, which gives its name to the Raja and to the erstwhile state. Three miles from Haripur, it is a scene of beauty. To the north are the great snow mountains, to the south is the river Beas. It was in this house that the Raja of Guler showed me his splendid collection of Kangra Valley paintings and allowed me to take photographs of them. Plate I shows his ancestor, Raja Bikram Singh of Guler, who reigned from 1661 to 1675. He is riding with his brother on a war elephant. Both brothers and the driver, the mahout, wear helmets with small darts in their front, and chain armour. The Raja and his brother have sideflaps on their helmets to cover their ears, and the Raja wears a metal breastplate on his chest and metal greaves on his forearms over his chain armour. The mahout has a dagger stuck in the side of his helmet, and carries a sword and shield. He has a tense and strained expression which contrasts with the calm of the Raja and his brother. The elephant is as heavily armoured as the riders. It has sheets of chain mail studded with discs on its sides, and chain mail over its trunk and ears, with a metal plate strengthening the vulnerable spot on the forehead where a shot can penetrate the brain. It carries in its trunk an iron chain with which to strike enemies. The portraits of all three riders are lively and natural. The

GULER ART

face of the driver is that of a typical mahout, while Rajputs like the Raja and his brother can be seen in the Kangra Valley today. The forward movement of the elephant is vigorously rendered. Mr. Basil Gray considers that this picture is of a later date than the time of Bikram Singh. But in any case it is an interesting example of Kangra Valley art.

The Raja showed me some pictures of his ancestor, Gobardhan Singh, Raja of Guler from 1730 to 1760. Gobardhan Singh is remembered in the Hills as the hero of the "Horse War." He had a splendid charger, which the Mogul governor of a neighbouring province coveted. He asked the Raja for it. The Raja refused and war followed. The Raja defeated the Mogul army and kept the horse. Such a reason for war seems strangely trivial and frivolous nowadays, but it would have been viewed rather differently in the Himalayas in the first half of the eighteenth century. Armies depended entirely on their cavalry, generals had to lead their troops in battle in person, and an exceptionally fine charger was worth a fight. I saw several drawings of this horse in the Raja of Guler's collection, with Gobardhan Singh mounted on it. It was a strange animal to modern eyes, heavy, massive, with an enormously broad chest and back, thick neck, and strong bone. It obviously came of a stock bred to carry armour in battle both for itself and its rider, and to bear down opposing cavalry and break the enemy's ranks by sheer weight and strength. The nearest living animals which I have seen to it were the horses of the old Austrian Imperial Riding School, the *Haute Ecole*, which had preserved unaltered the breed of horses of the days of armour. Gobardhan Singh's horse reminded me of Browning's lines:

The big-boned stock of the mighty Berold,
Mad with pride, like fire to manage,
With the red eye slow consuming in fire
And the thin stiff ear like an abbey spire

I photographed a beautiful portrait group of Raja Gobardhan Singh and his courtiers listening to music. It is dated A.D. 1743 and is a fine example of the Kangra Valley school. It is shown in my book *Himalayan Art*.

Another interesting portrait of Gobardhan Singh displayed him shooting a wild boar which was charging uphill. It was a bold sketch in blue paint on a white ground, and was full of a tense vitality. The sense of movement was vigorously rendered. There is, or was, a prejudice against shooting wild boars in India. Wherever the nature of the ground permits, they are ridden down and killed with spears. A Rajput gentleman once said to me: "It is not chivalrous to shoot wild boars." Indeed, it is regarded in India as shooting of foxes is in England. But a Rajput once sent me a leg of a wild boar he had shot. It was in hilly country, unfit for riding, as in the case of Raja Gobardhan Singh. Hence the shooting.

The Raja showed me two paintings on *papier maché* book-covers which I photographed. They are both fine works of Kangra Valley art and interesting examples of its use for decoration. One (Plate II) shows Krishna and his consort being borne through the air by the bird Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, of whom Krishna is an incarnation. The idea of rushing speed is skilfully suggested. The bird Garuda carries a snake in his human hands. The clouds all round the edge of the picture are varied so as to fill the space and balance the design without monotony. The corners outside the rounded oblong frame are filled with the fresh and delicate floral decoration characteristic of eighteenth-century Kangra Valley art. Krishna is shown carrying in his hand the most beautiful flower in heaven, the name of which is Parijat. The word "parijat" means "sea-born." It reminds us of another Indo-European people to whom the sea was the source of beauty. Aphrodite was foam-born. Krishna's consort asked him for parijat, but Indra, the god of the sky, would not let it go. Krishna, riding on Garuda, fought Indra, who was mounted on an elephant. Krishna won, and the picture shows him returning victorious from heaven. The bird Garuda seems a fantastic idea, but to anyone who knows the Himalayas its origin is clear enough. I remember once camping in a gloomy gorge, above the limit where trees could grow, with slopes of eternal

snow not very far off on either side. It was evening, there was a drizzle of rain, and mist was coming up the valley. A small tent in such surroundings made a dreary scene enough, and round it there came circling and crying the great eagles of the Himalayas, huge birds, the span of whose wings from tip to tip would be twice the height of a man. Their harsh and mournful cries completed the utter desolation of the scene. Viewed through the mist in which it mostly lives, it would not be difficult to believe that such a bird could carry a man.

The other book-cover (Plate III) shows Shiva and Parvati riding on Nandi, his vehicle. Shiva carries his trident. There is a snake coiled round his neck, and he wears a leopard skin. The background is of conventionalized mountains, the Himalayas, with which Shiva is associated. This work is the companion of the first, and is in the same fine and delicate style.

In my book *Himalayan Art* there are shown two fine Guler pictures of the story of the princess of Chamba who fell in love with a low-caste drummer. She eloped with him, and they were both shot down by the royal archers.

I photographed Plate IV in the Lahore Museum, which has a fine collection of Kangra Valley paintings. It represents two young *cheetal*, the spotted deer of India.

Naturalism is combined with the sensitive delicacy of line characteristic of the Kangra Valley art of the eighteenth century. There is the same feeling of tender sympathy for animal life which is observable in the portrayal of cattle, the bulls and cows sacred to the Hindu religion, in this art. It is probable that this picture may come from Guler. The catalogue of the Lahore Museum merely says it is of the Kangra Valley. In line and spirit it is similar to pictures in the collection of the Raja of Guler.

In the exhibition of Indian art in the Royal Academy in 1947-48 there were four pictures from Guler. No. 644, "Kunkani Ragini," shows a lady seated feeding a cock and hen. No. 645, "Vihaga Raga," is of a woman massaging the foot of a seated man. No. 681, "Gundagri Ragini," shows a lady seated feeding a boar. The boar has a garland showing below its neck. At Udaipur, the ancient Rajput state in Rajputana, I saw wild boars fed in the evening. They came in swarms, or rather sounders, to the cry of the Maharaja's servant summoning them to their meal. Nos. 644, 681, and 682 have a certain resemblance to the picture by Fattu, Sansar Chand's artist, of ladies playing chequers, which is shown in my article "Sansar Chand of Kangra" in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*. These pictures have the charm of Kangra Valley art.

TO LHASA AND BEYOND*

By Professor TUCCI, Ph.D

IN the East, especially in India, it is usual that every speech or book should begin with a "mangalacaranā": an invocation to the gods. To the more practical mind of the Westerners, it seems more appropriate to begin with thanks and apologies. Thanks for the invitation received and an apology for one's own short-

comings. This apology is much needed in my case, as I am aware that my English is rather rusty. Another apology is necessary for what I may call the hybrid character of my talk, in the sense that I am bound to tell at the same time impressions and facts. The specialists and those who have been in Tibet may hear things which they know

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TO LHASA AND BEYOND

only too well. Those who are interested in the general aspects of Tibetan culture might find some details tiresome. So the task rests on me to distribute impartially disappointment. But one fact is certain, that I am happy to speak in this Institute which brings about a collaboration in thought between English and Italian scholars.

It is also a pleasure for me to speak here in London, because my travels in Tibet have always been greatly encouraged by the British authorities, to whom I again express on this occasion my most sincere thanks, especially to Sir Basil Gould, who is greatly responsible for my journey of 1939, during which I collected a great part of the materials published in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. I am obliged to him if many doors were then opened to me.

The fact of concentrating oneself for many years on a research alone—namely, on Tibet—does not mean that one has become a specialist in a narrow sense confined within the limits of a small world: rather, this research of things Tibetan compels us to wander all over Asia in order to convey afterwards all the experiences so collected to the advantage of a better knowledge of the Country of the Snows. For this very reason Tibetan culture is like a book written in many languages: if you want to understand it properly, the knowledge of Chinese, Sanskrit, Indian dialects, Mongol and Iranian dialects of Central Asia, is needed. One should also be well versed in Indian philosophy and familiar with all Asiatic religions, from those of China to those of Persia. One must also know how these ideas met, reacted one against the other and blended together in the course of nearly two millenniums of history.

And then—why not?—perhaps there is in me a mysterious sympathy for the country of snows; a sympathy which by a strange coincidence I may have absorbed, so to say, with my birth in the province where I was born; in fact, from that province in the eighteenth century Capuchin friars started in order to preach the Gospel just to Tibet. Foremost among them should be remembered

Orazio della Penna, Domenico da Fano, Felice da Morio and Cassiano Beligatti. They stayed in Tibet, with varying luck, to about 1750, claiming for themselves that mission which, for a few years, had been entrusted to Ippolito Desidori of Pistoia, who wrote a book on Tibet, solid as an oak, to which the passing of years seems to add, instead of taking away, vigour and freshness.

But also the missionaries of the eighteenth century had before them an ancient tradition: I speak of Odorico da Pordenone and Marco Polo, who, in the thirteenth century, though they did not actually enter the country, gave us the first news about Tibet when the zeal of apostles and the daring enterprise of merchants had already been able to open a way through the Russian steppes and Central Asia, and established a link between the Mongolian Empire and the Mediterranean world. But in that chaos where ephemeral empires arose and fell as suddenly, a freedom of movement persisted which in this century of passports and threatening frontiers seems an unattainable desire.

Also after the eighteenth century Tibet continued to fascinate Italian explorers, but shut obstinately her doors to all, and compelled them to limit their researches to frontier provinces. From Roero di Cortanze to the Duke of Abruzzi, to De Filippi and Dainelli, Italians—only to name the best-known—succeeded each other in expeditions on the Karakorum and Ladakh.

I have been more lucky. Starting from Ladakh I passed to Spiti and Western Tibet, then pushed forward to Saskya and Tashilunpo: the former, capital of Tibet at the time of Kubilai Kan, Marco Polo's contemporary, and the latter, the seat of one of the highest spiritual authorities of Tibet. From 1939 to 1947, I worked on the material I had collected and wrote my book *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, an attempt at giving a résumé of the cultural history of Tibet.

But science, as you know, is like desire: what was thought to be a certainty is only the knowledge of a limitation or the dawn of new doubts. The conclusions I reached

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in this book created other problems; to solve them there was only one way—to go back. The planning of an expedition in this post-war period, which places so little value in culture, may have appeared madness; above all, because in the urge of practical interests, only those studies which promise to produce immediate results are met with favour. Anyhow, the Tibetan Government, thanks to the interest taken by the Foreign Office in London, and as I said by Sir Basil Gould, granted me a pass.

So I left and reached Gangtok in Sikkim in April, 1948, and then Yatung, the first big Tibetan village, whence the wool trade route starts and on which all traffic between India and Tibet takes place. At Yatung many obstacles lay in wait for us. In contradiction to the information I had received, the Tibetan authorities had issued the permit for me alone to proceed further, and sent me the following pass:

“Notice to all prefectures, villages, heads of villages and subjects from Trommo (Yatung) to the capital Lhasa by the direct route. Mr. Tra shi has been allowed, as an exception, to come to Lhasa: therefore may he be provided—from prefecture to prefecture—with four animals for riding and twenty horses for carrying baggage, according to prices current in the country and setting down each time all this here below with a seal. Besides, after payment of the price current in the country, may he be supplied with lodgings, fuel, boats for crossing rivers, eggs, milk, etc. May no obstacle be put in his way while coming here. This pass must be given back on arrival in the capital. Year earth-mouse, fourth month fourth day.”

My companions' passes were obstinately refused. After nearly one month of futile correspondence I thought it was not convenient for me to wait any longer, and so I started alone for Lhasa, in the hope that when in the capital I would have been able to induce the authorities to reconsider their decisions. In fact, this is what happened.

After a month and a half's stay in Lhasa I was granted the long-wished-for pass: on

July 26 I could at last send it off, by special messenger, to my companions who were waiting at Yatung. Thus, only on August 2 we met at Chusul, at the gates of Lhasa, and from this place we started all together, to accomplish the remaining journey. We travelled on foot and on horseback for about 2,300 km., at an average altitude which sometimes reached 5,500 m.

With the exception of Lhasa and some great monasteries further than Lhasa, our usual abode was the tent. At 3,300 m. above sea level we navigated for more than 200 km. the waters of the Brahmaputra, entrusting our lives rather to the protecting gods of Tibet than to the boats, which were made with leather sown around a frail frame of willow.

The journey had four outstanding points: the long stay at Lhasa, the exploration of Samye, the discovery of the tombs of the Kings and the visit paid to the convent of Kongardzong.

I will not conceal from you that I was somewhat moved when I arrived in Lhasa: the soul as always in these cases trembles in uncertainty between the doubt of a delusion and the expectation of a marvel. Lhasa, so to speak, came to meet me in a wonderful sunny day, lying down, as to warm herself, at the feet of a yellow and stony hill and stretched forward as if to drink from the river Kyichu that flows wide and slow to join the Brahmaputra. On the summit of the hill the huge Potala stands, built in such a way as if to follow the work of nature.

It seems to have grown together with the stone like a diamond attached to its matrix, and the top of it is a sparkle of gold, gleaming in the sun. In this palace, built in the eighteenth century, the bodies of the Dalai Lama follow each other, always different in their bodily form but always identical in their essence; they are the earthly epiphany of the god of mercy: when the body becomes corrupt and dissolves, the spirit which has temporarily entered it passes into another body, and so on.

Everything is a parade of wealth, with a prodigious abundance that fills one with

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awe and yet prevents one from feeling at once that reverence which noble souls feel when one regards the tombs of the great; here that sentiment is slow in coming. In fact, from the archæological point of view Lhasa is rather disappointing. She was often sacked during the wars between the Reds and the Yellows and then by the Zungars. So the Potala contains only a few old images; the Tsugagkhang and the Ramoche, which were built in the sixth century, as tradition goes and as is fully supported by documents of the eighth century (namely, the inscription of Karchny near Lhasa published by Richardson and again by me) have been rebuilt in more recent times, probably during the twelfth century by the Ts'al pa rulers, who invited on this occasion artists from Nepal: in fact, the wooden pillars still preserved are of Nepalese make.

In summer, the Potala is deserted; during the hot months the Dalai Lama moves with his Court to Norbulinga, a great garden on the banks of the Kyichu. I was able to meet him twice there: on my arrival and on my departure. Both times he blessed me by placing his hands on my head and presented me with the ritual scarf of red gauze. He received me, between rows of high ecclesiastical dignitaries solemn and ceremonious, and when I took my leave he presented me with a collection of books which I had long been looking for but had never been able to find.

Two cities of monks, separate and yet near, graft themselves on the secular city: Depung and Sera. In the former live 7,700 monks and in the latter 6,600; farther away, about 60 km. to the east, on the top of a mountain 4,000 m. above sea level, there is Ganden with 3,300 monks, very famous not only for its rules, very strict, but because there Tsongkhapa died and his remains are still worshipped.

These are towns and not convents, inasmuch as abbots, friars and seminarists live in houses crowding on top of each other as if to keep warm, along a labyrinth of alleys leading towards the spiritual centre of the convent; this centre is the temple.

This is considered as the entrance door to the

other plane—the world of nirvana—provided its symbol and meaning are understood.

Huge statues sparkling with gold stand in the shadows, wrapped in eternal meditation and exploring with half-shut eyes the depths of the soul. They have an implacable but calm fixity, they express a beatitude which goes beyond all movement and feeling, like a light without colours and warmth; above all, they are remote and detached. Thus he who contemplates them feels desperately alone, and in order to flee this solitude effaces himself in the mystery represented by the image.

Of the principal sects in which Tibetan Buddhism is divided, the one of the Yellow hats founded in the fifteenth century and of which the Dalai Lama is a member, and the one of the Red hats, the latter represent the earliest school of Tibetan Buddhism; its rules are less strict, and as the sect insists on magical and exorcistic liturgy the individual spirit is more lively. The Yellow school tolerates it but does not love it. Anyhow, it shows great consideration for the *Sancta sanctorum* of the Reds—namely, the monastery of Samye; this was founded in the eighth century: there are 108 chapels, one of which has a semi-circular apsis like some temples in North-Western India.

The golden pagodas blaze amidst the green of the fields, protected in the direction of the river by a vast extent of sands. On the surrounding hills are ruins of royal palaces and hermitages (Haspori); in these palaces Buddhism began its first steps, was fought by native Shamanism, but finally won. Therefore a long but fruitful stay: inscriptions, chronicles and works of art have given me much to do.

After Samye we were once again swallowed by a boundless solitude, into the silence of those vast plains similar to lunar landscapes. But in the gulleys which cross the mountain range, on both sides of the Brahmaputra, subterranean waters and torrential rains suddenly bring forth a great variety of luxurious vegetation, as if through the toil of a mysterious gardener.

Rhododendrons and giant junipers climb

along the shady rocks. The terrible heat, those mountains which crumble into sand, those great plains which look like the bottom of dried-up lakes, begin more to the west near Tascilumpo and then invade the whole of Western Tibet. To the south of the Brahmaputra, on the contrary, between parallel mountain ranges, there are green valleys whose fertility is due more to the richness of the soil than to the work of man.

The Tibetan, in fact, is not a good ploughman: he is more of a shepherd and, above all, a merchant. At every moment you recognize in him the nomad: flocks, merchandise and religion tear him from his home and urge him to defy the void of a landscape which appears like a projection of the infinite. There he feeds his native religion in which trembles the terror of the lonely man. On these great planes a person is seen from a great distance: an insignificant black point surrounded by mountains on which life has no hold; all around, only the arrogance of the huge rocks, an unlimited vastness and the awful majesty of nature reign supreme. Man does not count: he is just a small being who passes and disappears, leaving no trace. Thus he was also seen by the Chinese painters in their metaphysical compositions in which mountains, clouds and water occupy the whole space. Man defends himself, then, against loneliness by populating that oppressive void with phantoms. Invisible presences vibrate in the air. You pass through this atmosphere imbued with forces that you do not see, but which hover over you like a nightmare.

But let us go on: after Yarlung we reach Chongye. Here I was able to discover the tombs of the Kings: natural hillocks, hollowed out by the erosion of waters on a tortured soil, all ups and downs, and then adapted by the hand of man. An enormous city of the dead, under the vigilance of those huge barren mountains, of a funereal yellow.

If it were not for literary traditions and for the inscriptions discovered by me on the spot, you would never think you were

in a cemetery of Kings: people who had sprung from the vastness of these plains and had gone back to them without leaving lasting traces of their own personalities in their works; nomads who passed like a storm and went into the womb of the soil, with their cherished objects, wives and serfs.

The tombs cover a period from the seventh to the ninth centuries A.D. A past which appeared legendary becomes an historical reality: those inscriptions vanquish the silence of centuries.

I spoke above of another monastery. In Kongkardsong there is an incarnation little more than twenty years of age. He is fading away in the midst of a small community of monks, all older than he is, pining for the friendship of his early years, with the desire in his heart, which all young men have, to see new things. Meanwhile he has built for himself a secret nook in a small garden adjoining the convent: there, during the long summer days, he plans his imaginary world just like a poet or a child.

When he hears of my arrival he gladly runs to meet me. At last a new event in his monotonous life. He guides me personally through the monastery; he asks me a thousand questions; he is astonished like a child to whom the maid tells a fairy-tale. A friendship is born in the course of a few hours at the bottom of a bitter loneliness. But the young man's friendship has been very precious. While I sat down to speak on many subjects, discussing with him the great masters of India, he took from a casket some Indian manuscripts written on palm leaves, dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries; as fresh as if they had just come out of the hands of the copyist.

I examined them with care and dread; two of them were the poetical works of two authors hitherto unknown. One of them is the metrical résumé of Buddhist dogmatics Abhidharma Samuccayakāṅkā by Saṅghatṛāta and the other a poem on one of Buddha's former lives, Manicūdājākaka by Sarvaraksita. The history of Indian literature is thus suddenly enriched by two

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names and two works, come to light as if by enchantment.

Let us summarize seven months of my sojourn in Tibet. The region I have crossed and studied can well be called the heart of Tibet, because the most intense spiritual and cultural life develops in it. Samye is one of the most sacred places of Tibet. Tsetang in Yarlung was the capital for more than two centuries. At Densatil the remains of the Kings of the Phag ma gro family are resting in solemn mausoleums of gilt bronze, in which it seems as if the whole Buddhist Olympus had come down by enchantment and later fixed for eternity in the strange forms of its symbols.

The country lying between Yarlung and Chongye was the cradle in which Tibet was born to history; each spot is consecrated by tradition: from the mountain where the God of mercy became human in order to give birth to the Tibetan people, to the grotto of Shelkar where the worker of miracles Padmasambhava passed long years in meditation.

You understand that I had not crossed the country to stop at studying its external aspects. There is always time for this: mountains will still be there even when it will be much easier to enter Tibet. My field of researches was a different one. I visited dozens of monasteries, I took photos of all the works of art they contained, so that I now have at my disposal the necessary documentation to complete the artistic history of Tibet—which I have already begun in the seven volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* and in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. I have discovered some important chronicles of Tibet. In nearly all the monasteries I have collected or copied the histories, biographies and works of the great abbots and monks who meditated there.

I have located the tombs of the Kings, copied their inscriptions and brought to light documents on Indian thought, unknown up to now.

One of the most fascinating researches is the study of Tibetan religion before the coming of the Buddhism which, on entering

the country, brought it forth to the light of civilization. That religion is called Bon: it is a form of Shamanism with some traces of Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and of the different religions which have followed each other on the soil of Asia. Practically nothing is known about it, inasmuch as the Bonpos are even less inclined than Buddhists to show their books and reveal their doctrines. Again luck favoured us.

At Ghiantse I was so fortunate as to make acquaintance of the descendant of an old family of Bonpo teachers. This man is the hereditary priest of the sect, but his repeated journeys to India had little by little undermined and weakened his orthodoxy; for this reason, when I expressed the wish to know his religion, he put the best part of his ancestral library at my disposal. The prefect of Shigatse accomplished the rest, collecting for me other books from a Bonpo monastery in his jurisdiction.

In a country like Tibet a psychological entry is worth more than a political one: it is necessary to get rid of that conceit with which nature has nourished us westerners and to establish friendly relations from which understanding is born.

All the dignitaries were friendly and helpful with me on my return journey—on a day when the sun made the peaks of the Himalaya shimmer and sparkle and I waved a farewell to the golden mountains behind me, on which I felt a great longing in my heart: not only longing for a country where the beauty of the landscape overcomes and enchants you, but also a longing for a friendly and generous people who made me feel so much at home.

The monks who are supposed to be, if not hostile at least suspicious, greeted me everywhere with great kindness: only in some villages they did not wish me to take photographs of the mysteries of their temples. Not because I might profane things which had to be kept secret, but for fear that the photographs might offend the divine aura breathing around the images of the gods which, as statues or paintings, pass by thousands before your eyes. They are so

many and so monstrous that those who would take them literally might be inclined to think—as is the case of nearly all travellers—that Tibet is oppressed by a numberless Olympus, expressed by a fantasy wavering between demoniacal terrors and exasperations of the senses. But they are wrong. According to the Tibetans the gods themselves, like everything and every idea, are only a shadow or rather the shadow of a dream; creatures of our mind which, stimulated by an intrinsic tendency to false imagining, draws forth from its depths the structure of changing fantasy. Nothing exists outside an indefinable indiscriminate cosmic mind, shining with blinding colourless light from which, in a mysterious fashion, all originates and in which all dissolves. They call it emptiness.

In a famous book it is written: "Everything is your own deceptive image: nothing exists without ourselves—as a real thing: neither gods nor demons."

Of course this feeling of emptiness varies according to different persons, but it colours all religious experiences of the Tibetans and differentiates them from us. Tibetans, in fact, as a whole still live (nobody can deny it) in a magical atmosphere, which, by abolishing the boundaries between imagination and reality, by dissolving this into that emptiness, and by establishing subtle communications between the limit of the body and the threshold of the soul, awakens, excites and moves certain psycho-physical capacities which may appear miraculous only because they are not common and universal. More than that: some lamas are trained through exercise, as if to prove that it is quite possible for a perfect man to vanquish that sluggishness and heaviness, those ties, in a word, which by nature accompany and humiliate us. Telepathy, control of the muscles which usually do not obey the will, the ability to develop internal warmth and voluntary catalepsy, not to speak of certain tests of fakirism which all honest lamas condemn and despise, belong to this kind of practice.

But we are always within the limits of

human possibilities. Therefore the merit to be ascribed to these masters is of a totally different nature—*i.e.*, they were the forerunners in the research of psychoanalysis, with the great advantage that they can speak of themselves and that they are witnesses of facts willed, caused and controlled by them.

Tibetans have only one undeniable advantage over us—namely, they have still preserved a spiritual integrity which is being daily disintegrated among us westerners by the prevalence of intellect. Thus the child or the poet within us has died who was able to interpret to us the mystery of things by means of symbols and myth. The cold and crystalline light of scientific truth has cast the shadows of doubt and disruption upon our spiritual heritage, and this explains why some of us, in an attempt to build it anew, turned to the land of Tibet, where man still seems to have the faculty for quiet thought and integrated living.

But, as I said, don't let us exaggerate: although for the reasons I have mentioned mystic intensity is there more widespread and strong, even in the Country of Snows you find people who are similar to us—equally contradictory; now like an angel and now troubled by passions; now ready to stand hardship and sacrifice and now pursuing worldly riches.

The evil is that also Tibet has reached a turning-point in her history; cracks are beginning to appear in the walls of her isolation and events which press fearfully all around her are now threatening the country of the snows.

Tibet must in the end come out of her isolation; should she refuse, events will have the better of her.

And so politics are on the point of troubling the peace of Tibet; the unique country in the world where one could still pursue unmolested the only thing I believe worth living for: stay on this earth and at the same time be far from it, lay down in the shadow of a tree—peacefully and without sad thoughts—to dream and count the stars twinkling in the sky.

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The Mahāvastu. Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J. J. Jones, M.A. (Wales)—Volume I. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Volume XVI. (Luzac and Co.)
(Reviewed by D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY)

As a repository of Buddhist legend the importance of the *Mahāvastu* has long been appreciated, but the exceptional difficulties of a corrupt text and an imperfectly known Prakrit dialect, rendered the more obscure by the modifications of Sanscritizing or Palicizing copyists, have hitherto discouraged translation. Exhorted by the late Mrs. Rhys Davids, Mr. Jones has attempted the task and is to be congratulated on the result. His version is admittedly intended more for the student of religion than for the linguistic specialist; but it is that of a conscientious scholar who prefers to grapple with verbal problems rather than to evade them. Occasional lapses there are, but considering the character of the original the general level of fidelity is high and that of readability even higher. The numerous and often helpful notes represent much research, though emphasis on Pali sources is apt to be one-sided, and it is significant that such forms as Anāthapiṇḍika, assattha and Sineru occur in a terminology predominantly Sanskrit.

Students of Buddhism will wish Mr. Jones well in the completion of a difficult undertaking, successfully begun.

The Phantom Waterfall and other Illusions. By Oswald J. Couldrey. (Abbey Press, Abingdon, Berkshire.) 10s.

In appearance these thirteen short stories are plain tales of incidents in the author's life in the Educational Service in Madras "in the great days before the wars." They are told with all the richness of imagery and description that we expect from the author of *South Indian Hours*. Poet, artist and musician, Mr.

Couldrey makes the scenes and sounds and scents of the countryside live for us. Here, for instance, is a description of a late February morning: "Waterlifts plashed and murmured on every side as they poured their periodic waterfalls into the conduits of the fruit gardens, or brimmed the little thirsty panels of the seed-plots in the open fields. Around you throbbed and glowed the miracle of the rainless tropic spring, with its riot of radiant life in bird and insect, beast and reptile, its tireless jubilation as of elvish whistles, and invisible gongs, and unbreakable porcelain bells. To the stranger from Europe it seemed like a festival of all the seasons of the earth. Dry leaves littered the golden turf, naked rafters of peepul and banyan gleamed bone-pale in a sky of more than summer; while the air was full of the perfume of mango-blossom, and a lucid verdure of young leaves laced the sombre and already fruit-starred arras of the old like some compassionate divine repair." The author's numerous drawings are an added delight.

But there is more in the book than this. Each of the stories, whether fact disguised as fiction or fiction masquerading as fact, whether humorous or tragic, sardonic or pathetic, mystical or macabre, has an undercurrent of "illusion" (the word is explained and justified in the author's preface). Here is another quotation, at the risk of a too early disclosure of the illusion in one of the most striking stories, that of the Forest Officer who, in a waking dream, finds himself transformed into the tiger whom he is hunting, and whose afternoon sleep, like his own, is disturbed by a hollow tooth and by the persistent clamour of a field-watcher. "The volume of his own tooth-ache seemed somehow to have increased, as if the tooth itself had grown to thrice its former size. His other teeth seemed likewise to be growing larger, until he was aware of the possession of

splendid fangs. . . . Slowly his hovering consciousness condensed upon a point. Bristling sun-splashed feelers stirred under his half-open eyes, hot smells of the underwood, strangely intensified, were in his nostrils. His irritation at the urchin's clamour assumed a new and savage vigour"—with what appalling result the author must be left to tell.

A. G. S.

The Light above the Clouds. Thirty-nine Poems by Adi K. Sett. (Bombay: Thacker and Co.)

The author takes as his motto a line from a poem of Tagore's, "drowsy wings dream of a voyage to the light above the clouds," and the content of the poems fully explains this choice. There is a strong affinity with the older poet. We feel the unrest of the quest and the longings of the lonely wanderer, and a deep sense of kinship with the things of nature, a pervading feeling of the beauty of the visible world.

In form, too, the author has drawn much inspiration from Tagore, not from his poems in the original, strictly metrical and rhyming Bengali form, but the free rhythmic prose-paraphrase that made him so famous in the West some forty years ago. Continuously the mind harks back to what we heard in our young days, to what enchanted the Javanese poet Noto Soeroto and gave him the model for the outpourings of his nostalgic soul.

It is perhaps natural that this form should have special attraction for poets who live in the Orient. It lends itself so well to express the fleeting moods of days and nights, the colours and the perfumes. It is, however, better fitted to express individual lyrical feelings than sentiments that touch humanity as a whole. Therefore the war-poems in the book are perhaps the least successful.

In this slender collection Adi Sett has given us sincere utterances of a lyrical soul, and those who take the trouble to listen will certainly hear echos of their own—perhaps long-lost—longings and hopes.

A. A. BAKE.

Indian Embers. By Lady Lawrence. (George Ronald) 16s. net.

(Reviewed by CONSTANCE VILLIERS-STUART.)

The last clouds of the monsoon clinging to the Western Ghats above Bombay broke into a sudden downpour as the Punjab Mail reached the summit of the pass. The huge fantastic, castle-like rocks streamed with water and vivid emerald growth showed on their flanks. Everywhere the countryside was clothed in the lush, short-lived verdure of the Indian rains. But the following day the storm clouds were gone, left far behind in the south-west mountains. The train was running through a peaceful and familiar scene, that marvellous background to all brilliant hues, the dust-covered plains of Central India.

The great fortress palaces of Jhansi, Datia and Gwalior, as they flashed past, told of old wars and empires, marchings and counter-marchings; but the country as a whole breathed the spirit of an earlier, happier day when the Gopis, the Fairy Milkmaids, bathed in its streams and danced under the dark mango trees, and at "cow dust time," headed by Krishna playing his magic flute, they brought the cattle home up the narrow village street, while the women on the house-tops left their spinning at the sound and hurried to peep over the low mud walls and share in the gaiety below—a joyous climax to the day's work, always the favourite theme of the Rajputana painters.

As the train pulled up at a wayside station, breaking its long journey north for no apparent cause, the plaintive wail of a reed flute floated in the still air. It was evening-time, and the sun was setting on just such a scene. Its last rays shone on the curvilinear spire of a little Vishnu temple, showing where a mud village lay half-hidden in its trees, and away across the cotton fields it caught and gilded the soft dust clouds that marked the home-coming herds. The cranes, too, watching by the fast shrinking pools along the railway embankment, felt the call of the night, and rising awkwardly on their big wings, sailed away, making a long dark

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line against the evening haze of golden dust and violet smoke.

A few days of the Punjab, and the country of Krishna and the Gopis vanished. Even its memory grew dim. Brindaban took its place with other fairylands forlorn, like St. Brandan's Holy Isle which sank with all its company of Saints under the wild Atlantic waves. For the Punjab, unlike Rajputana, does not dwell on the past; the present absorbs all its energies and its mind.

Lady Lawrence's delightful book, *Indian Embers*, brings back these happy memories of returning to India after an absence of ten years. Her day-to-day doings, told with artless charm, also answers the grave question, how could a handful of British people govern an immense Empire for so long with comparative success? It was just the dynastic element in the Indian Civil Service, of which the Napiers and Lawrences were classic examples, that set the tone and appealed to rulers and ruled alike. It was the rule of the benevolent Maharaja in western guise, and though entailing sometimes more earnest uplift than the people quite appreciated, nevertheless, they sensed it was well meant.

As the wife of an Irish officer in an English regiment quartered from time to time in India, my view was not so close as the author's. But I had always had Indian friends, and coming as I did from the confusion of the post-industrial world, it was the unity of Indian cultures, rather than their diversity, that made the deepest impression. Hindu, Moslem, Sikh and smaller groups and subdivisions, each with their own living arts and distinctive ways of life, made an absorbing and fascinating scene. At this moment a great discussion is going on as to what shall be the official language. Pakistan has settled the question with Urdu, the language of the Moslem Emperors' camp. India has a large choice and is still undecided, and everywhere up and down the vast country the argument rages. In English the Lawrences and Napiers have also left their mark.

Charles Freer Andrews. By Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. (Allen and Unwin.) 10s. 6d. (net).

(Reviewed by PERCIVAL SPEAR)

The personality of C. F. Andrews was, to those who came into contact with him, inspiring, exasperating and enigmatic by turns. Love of the saint was tempered by dislike of the agitator, respect for the scholar and artist damped by distaste for the sentimentalist and puritan. Those who came to admire often found cause to criticize, and those who thought that he did not count in the world of affairs were apt to find themselves in the presence of a master of facts and figures. The bearded form with gentle shining face and piercing blue eyes, wrapped untidily in nondescript European or vaguely Indian attire, weak-voiced and mild of manner, gave no hint of the forces hidden within. To some he seemed a saint newly arrived from heaven, to some a sprite ordained for the perplexity and harassment of practical men, to some a lover of every nation but his own, and to some an amiable eccentric. It is no wonder that such a complex and picturesque personality evoked a legend which was well established before his death in 1940. Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Miss Marjorie Sykes have therefore rendered a signal service in preparing a well-documented and well-written biography. It is avowedly the work of admirers, but they are judicious and discriminating admirers; the book is based on a careful study of all the available evidence. Nothing material is omitted, and if the authors' affection for their subject shines through every page, they have shirked no issue and concealed no significant fact. Andrews' oddities and inconsistencies are there as well as his crusades and moral triumphs. As a whole it presents a documented and faithful picture of the man and his work.

He who would unravel the skein of this complex personality should go back to his early years, for it is there that will be found the dues to all the later metamorphoses and diversities. When Andrews went to India

in 1904 he was a mature scholar-priest of thirty-four years; he had indeed been advised that if he did not go then he would be unlikely to go at all. All the qualities and tendencies which later assumed such unexpected forms were already visible. As the secret of Gandhi is to be sought in South Africa, that of Andrews will be found in Birmingham, Cambridge and South London. Birmingham, with its Swedenborgian background of ritual and personal devotion and mysticism, stimulated his sensuous and sensitive spirit; Cambridge developed and sharpened his intellect without blunting his emotions; South London gave him that passion for the poor which later earned him the title of "Dinabandhu" and a streak of realism which was a constant source of surprise to those who thought of him mainly as a sentimentalist.

It was thus no fastidious intellectual familiar only with academic groves and reluctant to face the background of poverty and Hindu traditionalism that appeared in Delhi in 1904. Andrews' development was deeply influenced by the environment in which he found himself and the personalities with whom he came in contact, it is true, but the general direction of his reactions was determined by the development which had gone before. His tendency to link himself with persons, already revealed by his attachment to Bishop Westcott and his son Basil, found an immediate focus in S. K. Rudra, the first Indian Principal of St. Stephen's College. His "mothering" instinct found an equally ready outlet in Rudra's motherless young family. It was the same tendency to hero-worship, together with his sensitive æsthetic and keen intellectual sense, which drew him to Tagore, and the same instinct, blended this time with his love of the poor and lowly, which ripened his friendship with Gandhi. His work among the South London poor flowered naturally into his crusades on behalf of the Indian indentured labourers overseas and industrial workers in India itself. The realism with which he investigated the worst abuses and the fearlessness with which he

combated degrading conditions similarly had their roots in South London. The thoroughness of his social work and the accuracy and skill with which he presented his cases were a reflection of his scholarly training. Those who thought they were dealing only with a gentle and dreamy ascetic forgot, until they read his memoranda and had to counter his arguments, that they were dealing with a Fellow of Pembroke.

Our authors show very clearly the way in which another characteristic first developed in England exercised its influence in India. It was the tendency for his judgment to be swayed by the warmth of his emotions. His pacifism can be associated with the 1914 war, his intense preoccupation with racial questions with early experiences in India and his sympathy with his Indian friends, his strained relations for many years with the Anglican authorities with a sense of the unreality of denominational distinctions in Indian conditions, and his despair of the British connection after 1920 with his repugnance to governmental measures in North India at the close of the first world war. On the positive side, the influence of this quality can be seen in his tendency to idealize Hinduism. Almost, it might be said, he was persuaded to be a Christian "bhakti" within the Hindu fold. Almost, but not quite. As the years went by he became critical of some aspects even of Gandhi's thought; his conviction of the uniqueness of the Christian revelation grew deeper as he grew older and flowered in a remarkable series of books in the last decade of his life. Andrews never returned to High Churchmanship, but he died a great Christian. The authors have delicately and movingly traced the development of his mystical consciousness which more and more suffused his personality in the last years of his life.

If Andrews did not see the picture of India in its full proportions, it was not for want of travel or study, of toil or personal contacts. It may be suggested that one cause of the lack of balance in his picture

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was the nature of his personal contacts, and another the scope of his travels. For Andrews Hinduism was Tagore and Gandhi. Yet one, as Dr. Nicol Macnicol (in his brief study of Andrews) has acutely pointed out, was a leader of a sect founded in protest against orthodox Hinduism and considerably influenced by Christian thought, and the other was moulded partly by Tolstoyan ideas and spent much of his strength attacking features of current Hinduism. None would deny to Gandhi the name of Hindu, but it was the non-resister and the Protestant in Gandhi which chiefly attracted Andrews. Again, Andrews' travels familiarized him with Indian poverty in its overseas and industrial aspects. He knew these intimately,

but in both these quarters traditional Hinduism had largely lost its hold. His early experience was with the rising educated class of the towns. There remained the villages, where the great bulk of Indian society is still to be found, where caste, with all its consequences, still retains its sway. Andrews as a reformer and a reconciler was a prophet inspired; as an interpreter his large experience lacked one essential ingredient—the age old and intricate life of rural India. One cannot read this book without being moved by the spectacle of this Christian saint in the twentieth century, and without recalling words uttered in the first, “Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.”

AWARD TO DR. REGINALD LE MAY

It will, it is felt, be of interest to the members of the Royal India and Pakistan Society to know that on November 2, 1949, one of their Council Members, Dr. Reginald le May, was awarded a silver medal by the Royal Society of Arts for the paper which he delivered to that Society on “The Development of Buddhist Art in Burma.”

The medal, which is here reproduced, is in oxidised silver $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick.

As will be seen, on the obverse is a profile portrait of H.R.H. Princess Elizabeth, the President, and the date of her election to that office, 1947, in Roman numerals. The

artist who designed this is Mr. Percy Metcalfe.

On the reverse is an illustration of the Society's house in John Adam Street, designed by one of our own Vice-Presidents, Mr. F. H. Andrews, O.B.E., with the date of its foundation, 1754.

Round the rim is an inscription, as follows: “Reginald le May, Ph.D., for his paper ‘The Development of Buddhist Art in Burma,’ session 1948-49.”

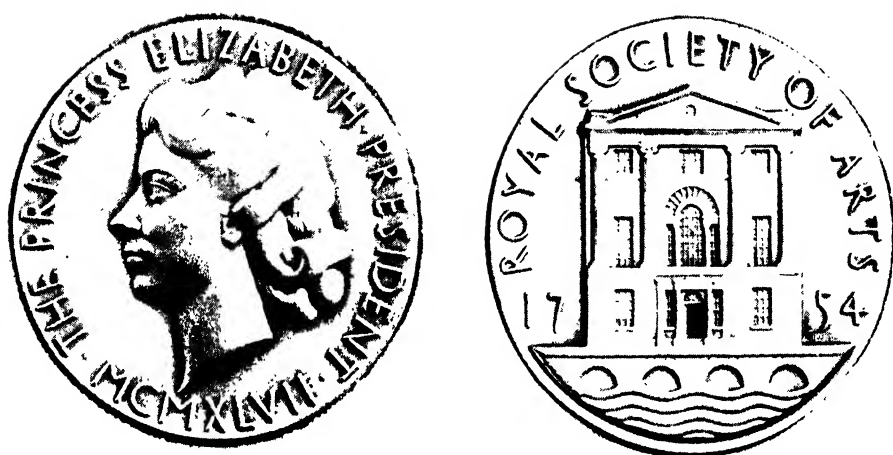
The medal is a beautiful example of modern British craftsmanship, and reflects great credit on all concerned in its production.

INDIAN DANCING AND CLASSICAL BALLET

By MISS KAY AMBROSE

IN the Film Theatre of the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, on March 7, the Royal India and Pakistan Society presented a treat for all dance-lovers. The subject under discussion—“A Comparative Study of Indian Dancing and Classical Ballet”—took the form of a lecture-demon-

stration. With Ram Gopal himself, in the combined capacity of India's greatest classical dancer and her cultural ambassador, to answer for all the different classical dance-styles of India, and his inspired choice of Celia Franca, well known as a star dancer and choreographer of classical ballet, the



THE SILVER MEDAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS



RAM GOPAL

INDIAN DANCING AND CLASSICAL BALLET

audience was assured of an authoritative as well as a most enjoyable evening. Indeed, as a result of his many successful lectures at the Royal India and Pakistan Society, Ram Gopal was invited to give two weeks of lecture-demonstrations at the Watergate Theatre, where he decorated the tiny auditorium with blazing oriental silks and an increased public, most of which must have seen Ram Gopal in one of his big London seasons, was able to learn more about the hitherto enigmatical technique of the Indian dance.

On this occasion at the Imperial Institute Ram Gopal and Celia Franca had the original idea to answer in public some of the questions most frequently asked of them in connection with the art of classical dancing as it has developed in the East and in the West. In almost every case they were asked the same question, and the two stars answered in turn. It was interesting to note that classical ballet as we know it today developed from about three hundred years ago, when a pleasure-loving king sponsored his own court ballets and took part in them himself to the delight of his companions. Celia Franca mentioned the Chevalier Noverre, who lived in the eighteenth century, as being the Father Confessor, as it were, of today's ballet; Ram Gopal told us that all Indian dancing should be in accordance with the Natya Sastras, which was written during a period of inspiration by the Sage Bharata Muni at a time of very great antiquity indeed. The original palm-leaf texts in ancient Sanskrit are preserved to this day in the great temple libraries of Tanjore and Malabar. Ram Gopal told us that the four main schools of dancing in India today (Bharata Natya and Kathakali from the south, and Manipuri and Kathak further north) are to a certain extent linked with this monumental work, and that although every dance-master in India, descending from generations of disciples of the art, defends his own personal views on the origin of the dance, still the Natya Sastras must be the basis of the training of the authentic and classical Indian dancer.

In reply to the question as to whether it was purely emotional or religious in purpose, Ram Gopal said that in India all the best of every art was lavished on the temples; and just as the most elaborate frescoes and sculptures are to be found in the temples, so, too, the most complicated and beautiful dances serve to adorn the earthly homes of the gods and to express the extent of man's or woman's worship through the medium of their art. Even the folk-dances are invariably dedicated to some deity.

Celia Franca, replying to a question on the emotional content of classical ballet, said that although the display of emotion forms an integral part of ballet, unfortunately the practice today tends to leave the outer expression of the inward "feel" of the dance to the discrimination of the individual performer. Here Celia Franca demonstrated two different versions of the same extract from *Les Sylphides*, the first version being performed in a hard, technical manner with an absolute disregard for the delicacy of Chopin's music, and the second showing the difference when the dancer is alive to the mood of the music.

Ram Gopal, replying to the same question, told us that the "old" or unemotional performer was equally common in the East, but that the greatest Indian dance-critics were far more impressed by facial expression than by athletic movement. Besides, every student of classical Indian dancing goes through a most careful training in the use of each separate muscle of the face, the arms, hands and fingers. Ram Gopal then demonstrated the Nine Rasas, or emotions, on which all Hindu dancing is based and through the medium of which are expressed the sentiments of Love, Disgust, Wonder, Fear, Comedy, Sorrow, Heroism, Fury and Peace. Both Celia Franca and Ram Gopal agreed that the classical dances of India and the classical ballet technique of the West were united in their ideal form and object, that through them one should be able to give expression to any emotion, sensation or subtlety.

Celia Franca was then asked to describe

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some of the "conventions" of classical ballet, which while being accepted by the initiates of the art were often puzzling to the stranger. She described carefully the evolution of the stiff white ballet-skirt and the pink blocked toe-shoes, deploring the fact that not infrequently, especially in other lands, these trade marks of the authentic ballet-dancer were misused to cover up the most shocking travesties.

Ram Gopal, in answer to the same question, told how certain conventions such as the now famous neck movement—which has its specific place in the curriculum of Indian classical dancing—could easily be misunderstood and exaggerated even to vulgarity when performed before Western audiences. He spoke also of the undulating arm movement, which could so easily be used to excess, and told us that the hip movement, which seems to have become associated with all Oriental dancing, has in fact but a small part in classical Indian styles, and then it is relegated mostly to the folk-dances. He also thought that would-be Oriental folk-dancers and Indian dancers not trained in the rigorous classical discipline were apt to make too much noise with their ankle-bells.

The last question was one which must always be of the deepest interest to the dancer-goer. "What is authenticity, and how can one discover whether or not a dancer is authentic?"

Celia Franca was asked to imagine that she was to engage a dancer whom she had never seen. How would she set about it? Celia Franca emphasized that little could be done by correspondence, but that she would ask where the dancer had trained, in what country and under which teachers. Physical appearance, too, played an important part, but the final decision must rest on the merits of the dancer's performance. Celia Franca then gave a demonstration of the three ways in which a dance might be performed. The first, perfect in every technical detail, remained utterly dull and lifeless; the second, exaggerated and affected,

lost all sense and purity of form; whilst the third, the correct manner, showed the flowing grace and charm which combine precision with understanding and so convey all the warmth and beauty of the art to the spectator.

In answer to the same question, Ram Gopal said that because of the enormous importance of technical training and accuracy in the Indian classical dances it was essential to know in which of the four main styles (mentioned earlier in the lecture) the dancer had trained, and—not less important—under which teachers. It was surprising, he said, how often a dancer was eager to explain his style and methods of dancing but unable to recall the name of his master. As to stage personality, Ram Gopal told us that whereas assurance of technique is required of a dancer, there is also a basic humility in the true exponent of Indian dancing which is an indication that the dancer has perceived that the art he practises is of transcendental greatness.

Finally Ram Gopal gave a dance showing an enchanting legend of the lovable and mischievous boy-god Sri Krishna; and this excellent and instructive entertainment ended when Arnold Haskell, an appreciative member of the audience, proposed a vote of thanks to the two talented performers.

It was certainly an unprecedented opportunity for those who had puzzled over the relationship of Eastern and Western dancing, not only to have the situation clearly explained, but to be able to see the differences and similarities actually performed before them, enabling them to see for themselves those qualities which are so difficult and dull when described and so compelling in action. We are profoundly grateful to Celia Franca for demonstrating and explaining to us the differences between the good and the bad in an art-form already familiar to us; while to Ram Gopal must go our warmest thanks for having conjured up before our eyes glimpses of the richness and beauty of the East, which we know will grow increasingly dear to us as our understanding develops.

INDIA USES FILMS IN FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION¹

By WINIFRED HOLMES

INDIA'S most cherished aims—to raise her standard of living, to become self-supporting in food and to overcome her vast problem of illiteracy²—are being tackled in various ways, and not the least through the medium of film.

The great potentialities of the sound film in this matter of fundamental education have been realized for some time, and the way in which Russia overcame similar problems, largely through the medium of film and radio—problems of unification, of understanding of modern methods and scientific ideas—before the mass of her people could read have been studied and their lessons learned.

The wartime Government Film Unit, Information Films of India, set up to make films about the war effort, soon abandoned that aspect of its work and chose instead subjects which provided a general background of liberal education for the ordinary, usually unlettered, people who crowd the two- and four-anna seats in the city cinemas. These ten-minute documentary shorts were not educational in the strict sense. They did not set out to teach one aspect of a certain subject to be used in formal or social education. They were made for use in public cinemas, which always included them in their programmes, and had therefore to be in some measure entertaining and of wide general interest. What they did do was to bring people, limited to one part of their large country by economic necessity and lack of access to reading matter, a wider vision and understanding of the men and women of their own land, of its tremendously varying agriculture and industries, towns and villages, rivers and sea-ports, of

its physical aspects, its natural riches and its cultural heritage.

By choosing as some of their subjects the ancient arts of India—architecture, sculpture, music and the dance—some of these films helped to rekindle national faith and pride in their past which owed nothing to the dominating West. India was stirring into a great new sense of nationhood and needed to bolster up her self-confidence. Some of the I.F.I. films played an important part in this renaissance.

Later films were intended to rouse a social consciousness and a conscience, and to give instruction without offence in aspects of civics, hygiene and techniques of living and working. These films were deliberately aimed at those members of the audience who had little or no education. They had to reach an audience which was taking a great leap forward out of ignorance, poverty and superstition, into a world in which the standard of living and understanding was to be raised to a far higher universal level. Conservatism, lethargy and ignorance were the chief enemies to be overcome. But how could they be overcome? How could new ways of thought, new ideas, new methods to supplant those held and employed for hundreds of years, be put over effectively in a few hundred feet of film? How could this be done without giving offence? How could it be done convincingly?

Those were the questions, the problems, that I.F.I. had to face when it made its films on infant welfare, on soil erosion, on locusts, on food storage and preservation, etc. It was found that direct propaganda was not appreciated by the general town audiences, paying for their seats in the cinema and going there to see their favourite stars and to enjoy their songs and dances. Informative films, provided they are not too

¹ Reprinted from "Fundamental Education" by courtesy of U.N.E.S.C.O.

² The latest official illiteracy figures are 85 per cent. of the population.

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dry, but contain humour and have a musical background, are far better received by this type of audience. For this reason the new Government Unit, Indian Documentary Films, when making an important hygiene-teaching film, *Dirty Habits*, recently, adopted humorous ways in which to put across the evils of dirty habits like spitting and sharing the same lollipop. The films drew roars of laughter from the audience and considerable applause. Although this aroused some controversy in the press as to whether humour did not detract from the educative value of the film, the general opinion held in responsible quarters is the reverse. "We find that humour,¹ *especially such as can be understood by the class of people to whom the film is addressed*, is a definite help, although its application to the purely educative type, only to be shown to a selective audience, is not very much encouraged. At the same time it is felt that humour in some form or other is essential for films intended for release through the regular trade channels in theatrical circuits," writes a member of the Films Division.

In India there are two audiences for adult education films. One is the town audience in the Indian-language cinemas, most of whom are illiterate and need help in gaining a new understanding as much as their brothers and sisters. Many of them are mill and factory workers or casual labourers, with a recent village background and its narrow outlook. But their ardent film-going soon accustoms them to film conventions and it is not necessary to give them their film-lessons in a slow tempo. The commentary must be, of course, in their own language. I.D.F. are making their ten-minute shorts for this theatrical market in Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Bengali and English. They are always simple commentary films and so dubbing presents no problems. Here are some recent films of a social-instructional nature made for this market. *Fright and Prejudice* describes the different varieties of Indian snakes and contains practical lessons for effectively neutralising

the effects of snake-bite. It debunks many of the commonly held beliefs and superstitions concerning snakes and shows how "more harm befalls man through panic than poisoning." *Blossoms Revived*, about polio, is a human story in which a mother's courage saved her daughter's life, with the help of the skill and devotion of doctors and nurses. The aim of the film is to show how people themselves can help patients and assist medical science in its work. *Planned Parenthood* is a courageous film informing the people of the crushing burden of population increase of over five million people per year. It is explained that by limiting the size of families a better chance can be given to the children for a useful and happy life.

In addition, I.D.F. are continuing I.F.I.'s policy of showing the country to the country by making films on its industries, railways, irrigation projects, construction and rehabilitation, its economic problems and its sources of national pride, such as the new Indian Constitution.

The second audience for adult education films is the village audience—by far the largest audience of the two. Films for this audience are being made by a special unit of Indian Documentary Film, by the Provincial Governments' film units and by a few enlightened industrialists through the medium of independent documentary-producing companies. They are shown by means of mobile cinema vans which tour the countryside, and villagers will walk miles to attend a performance.

Through experience various lessons have been learned in how to make such films effective for this audience.

1. Cartoon is understood and enjoyed.
2. Clown humour is immediately appreciated and strikes home.
3. The necessity for slow tempo has not been proved, as the "grammar of the film" is very soon grasped. Indians have a long tradition of theatrical convention and story-telling of a subtle nature and they have a well-developed visual sense.

¹ My italics.

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4. The Indian illiterate villager is an adult and must be treated as such. His scope is narrow, but within it he is shrewd and quick-witted and must not be talked down to.
5. Films for this audience are best made by fellow nationals, as it is only Indians who can really understand the attitude of mind, the long-cherished ideas handed down for generations and the religious convictions of their fellows.
6. A tactful approach to new ideas is essential. Although the moral can be driven home hard and dramatically, the people shown in the film who hold the old ideas must not be made fun of. Respect for age and tradition is innate and must be taken into account in planning the film.
7. The audience must be put in a good humour in the first few feet of the film. Otherwise it may put up a resistance to the message of the picture. Rural audiences are quick to laugh and enjoy laughing.
8. The story must be simple and told about the kind of people the villager knows. It should be told simply and straightforwardly with a friendly and conversational commentary which will bring him right into the orbit of the film.
9. When making a film of village life the people themselves can make valuable contributions to it if approached in the right way. When *Kurvandi Road* was made—a film about how a village needed, asked for and got a road which they helped construct themselves to the advantage of the whole community—the director interested the people of Kurvandi so much in the film that they themselves suggested angles of thought and approach which were stronger and had more bite in them than he had thought of before or would have dared to suggest.
10. The script writer must base the motivation of the film on the deep-seated aims and cherished ambitions of the village folk—*i.e.*, to have sons, to pay

their way, to marry their daughters well. Appeals to such emotions never fail. An outstanding example of this can be seen in the film *A Tiny Thing Brings Death*. This is the story of two young villagers and their wives who live in a malaria-infested part of watery Bengal. One of them sickens with the dread fever and carries it home to his pregnant wife. "This is the will of God," they say, and they cannot believe the doctor who tells them that malaria is caused by a tiny insect and can be prevented by taking a certain drug regularly which can be bought cheaply in the bazaar. Romesh, strong, fine young peasant, dies; his wife, weakened by malaria, gives birth to a dead child. She has lost everything. Romesh's friend, who tells the tale, is overcome with sorrow and he is afraid for his own wife, who is also pregnant and who complains of fever. He runs to the doctor and obtains some of the medicine, and at last believes in the truth of the new scientific knowledge of malaria, its prevention and cure. The film ends on a happier note of the proud father-to-be striding off to work in the fields and dreaming of the strapping son who will one day walk there with him. The commentary is in the first person singular; there is no dialogue, so that different language versions of the film can be made.

The "Rural Special" films made by I.D.F. are in four languages—Hindi (Hindustani), Gujarati, Tamil and Bengali. The language problem is not nearly as difficult a one in India as is generally supposed. Hindi is becoming a universal language of which many of the vernaculars are only dialects. A more difficult problem lies in the variety of conditions obtaining in rural areas in different parts of such a vast country.

Agricultural methods are of necessity completely different—although they may be equally primitive—in the dry upland of

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the Deccan from the wet Malabar coast. Customs, both social and personal, are quite different in Bengal from customs in the Punjab. It is easily seen that to make a film universally acceptable in all parts of India is not easy. In fact, it is practically impossible, except in the very few cases.

It is possible, therefore, that the Provincial Governments will gradually take over more and more of the making of films for fundamental education in their areas. At present they have little money to spare, but this would be a logical development when finances are available.

ON THE BORDERS OF PAKISTAN: RECENT EXPLORATION

By BEATRICE de CARDI, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

BALUCHISTAN—to some the name will conjure up no more than the safe but soulless corrugated roofing of Quetta in a garden setting. To others it may recall sight and smell of thyme-scrub covered plains traversed by mole-hill chains of karez-irrigation. Yet both conceptions are dominated by a common background: the rugged black and ochre hills which give bleak but impartial shelter to the mud dwellings of prehistoric times and the present day. Side by side or superimposed, these insignificant settlements possess a twofold interest. They are at once a vivid testimony to the forces which have at all times governed the wanderings of migratory peoples in Baluchistan, and they kindle the imagination with occasional panoramic glimpses of human development through five thousand years in a region of great archæological importance.

Discoveries continued over many years in Persia and Iraq have built up a picture of life in prehistoric times which has its counterpart in Pakistan in the spectacular Indus valley civilization of the third millennium B.C. This culture spread widely through the fertile plains of western Pakistan and extended from the Arabian Sea to the foothills of the Himalayas. Excavation has revealed the existence at that time of such cities as Mohenjo-daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab, whose well-built brick houses, elaborately planned drainage systems and central granaries provide a general air of urban well-being in

striking contrast to the small hill-villages of Baluchistan. There the disadvantages of a limited economy at bare subsistence level were doubtless outweighed by the relative security which poverty and inaccessibility afforded to the migratory tribes who penetrated through the valleys between the plateau and the plain. Little is yet known of these people, nor is the cause of their migration eastwards clear. Some may possibly have fled from political persecution; others may have become unsettled by climatic deterioration which affected grazing on the higher plateaux. To many the gradual shift of camping grounds must surely have been but a normal part of their nomadic life, much as today the rhythm of seasonal migration still sways the lives of a high proportion of Baluch tribespeople.

Whatever the initial impulse, geophysical factors have imposed a certain uniformity of movement upon those who ventured into Baluchistan. Mountain, desert and sea have limited the approaches and confined cross-country travel to a few well-defined routes. In the south, amidst the 7,000-foot peaks of the Central Makran range, the valleys of the Kej and Rahkshan rivers provide thoroughfares from the Persian border to Kalat State which have been in use since prehistoric times. Another parallel route from Persia can claim a similar antiquity. Skirting the Helmund desert in Afghanistan, it follows the line of the present Zahidan railway to Nushki

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and thence strikes northwards to Kandahar. To the south-east, in Las Bela State, the trend of traffic is from north to south through successive waves of mountains stepped up against the knife-edged escarpment of the Kirthar range. This range, rising abruptly from the Indus plains, forms a natural boundary between Sind and the Baluch hill country, broken by the Mula pass from Jhalawan and routes down the Hab and Gaj rivers leading to Lake Manchhar. All these tracks converge upon Kalat and continue northwards through its longitudinal valleys until in the region of the Bolan pass they join one of the two main routes from Pakistan to Afghanistan and beyond.

Exploration undertaken largely by the late Sir Aurel Stein has shown that along these routes and in sheltered valleys near them lie the unimposing remains of many prehistoric villages. The cycle of development in such settlements was usually confined to the erection, destruction or decay, and rebuilding of a cluster of mud huts, until with the passage of centuries a sizeable mound, or *dhamb*, had been built up. The process is one which can be seen at work in almost every town and village of western Pakistan, where the panniered donkey plods slowly with its load of bricks and rubble through the narrow streets. For one reason or another many of these settlements were deserted, and a low mound or series of tamarisk-covered hummocks are often all that remain to mark their site in the plains. In the highland zone, however, conditions are more favourable for archaeological investigation. There an eroding wind has dusted the lighter soil from the surface of the mounds, leaving only heavier habitation-débris such as potsherds and chert flakes to form a thin protective shell.

In the almost complete absence of scientific excavation, material of this kind has in the past formed the basis of research into the pre-history of Baluchistan. Sherd by sherd, it has been possible to evolve in outline a cultural sequence based almost wholly on stylistic comparisons with material found in Persia and Iraq, where more adequate excavation has produced a reasonably sound chronology.

But the limitations of such a method of analysis are obvious and are particularly apparent in the case of cultures which originated or developed in Baluchistan—a numerous and complex assortment which need not be described in detail.

Fortunately, a certain degree of generalisation is possible, for, as in Persia, two different cultural zones can be recognized, a northern and a southern. The northern group, characterized by Red Wares, has been found both in northern Persia and in the valleys of the Zhob and Indus, but the link between these terminal points has yet to be traced. The southern group, distinguished by Buff or Yellow Wares, has been located on sites stretching westwards from southern Persia, on the one hand, and eastwards through the valleys of the Makran to Kalat State in central Baluchistan.

Archæological exploration in a region as inaccessible as Baluchistan has naturally been conditioned by many factors, some political and many incalculable and often uncontrollable. Until comparatively recently cross-country travel was usually by camel or pony, and exploration tended on that account to be limited to sites within a day's ride of the main routes. Now, however, the advent of the jeep offers opportunities for survey in greater depth. Even so, lack of water or the activities of a local bandit may restrict entry to some regions, and there are passes through the hills too narrow for even the ubiquitous jeep to follow. All these and many other points must be borne in mind when the results of previous field-work are assessed. Thus, on the evidence of recorded sites, the Sarawan district of Kalat appeared to have been sparsely occupied in prehistoric times in comparison with the Kolwa tract of the Makran, where settlements abound. The conclusion was a doubtful one. As the focal point of many routes Kalat was a region of great potential importance in determining the interrelation of the Red and Buff Ware cultures. It thus remained to discover to what extent the paucity of archæological sites was due to the cursory nature of previous exploration.

Such was the primary object of the brief

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survey which I undertook with the concurrence of the Government of Pakistan in 1948. Time and the fact that I was travelling alone, save for Sadar Din, a foreman from the Archaeological Department, restricted the scope of the survey. It was nevertheless possible with the enlightened co-operation of H.H. the Khan of Kalat and his advisers to cover approximately 750 miles and to explore forty-seven sites, of which twenty-one were hitherto unrecorded.

The Kalat authorities had advised radial survey from fixed bases, and Kalat itself formed our first headquarters. There the shattered battlements of the once imposing palace, destroyed during the Quetta earthquake in 1935, hide all trace of the earlier occupation which seemed likely to have existed on a site of such strategic importance. But in the valleys to the north-west of the capital lay many mounds. For the most part they were to be found at the junction of narrow camel-tracks, near stream-beds perennially dry, or guarding passes through the hills. Some areas were marked by a surprising density of occupation in what is now an arid region relying mainly on dry-crop cultivation. In Mungachar, a district midway between Quetta and Kalat, no less than eight mounds were found almost within sight of one another, and in Gidar valley near Surab seven of fifteen sites reported to exist were ranged along a narrow tongue of land within as many miles. Without excavation it is impossible to say whether such settlements were contemporaneous or merely marked successive village-sites established as fresh tribes penetrated to the district. In many cases surface finds indicated contemporaneity, and on some sites periodic occupation from the third millennium B.C. to early Islamic times. At Shahr Sardar, Mungachar, for instance, the distinctive cream-coloured pottery associated with a culture predating the Indus civilization was found on a mound till recently surmounted by the mud-walled dwelling of an elegant gentleman whose double-breasted jacket and padded shoulders were strangely at variance with his followers' smocked shirts.

It was in this region, at Togau, that we first identified a new ware¹ which was to appear on other sites with monotonous regularity. The mound sprawled at the foot of a rocky spur rising unexpectedly from a brief harvest of pale lilac orchids. On its slopes were a variety of sherds, including examples of the "Nal Cultures," so called from the type-site long ago discovered a hundred miles to the south. More interesting, however, was a hard well-made wheel-turned red ware decorated with black designs. To the normal repertoire of geometric patterns the Togau potters and their kinsfolk had added a wide range of animal motifs. So formalized did these processional border-patterns become that it was possible to trace a much-used pattern of goats or ibex through various stages of partial representation, until only a neat row of hooks or stylized horns appear round the rim of the bowl.² Subsequent examination showed that this ware had a wide distribution throughout southern and central Baluchistan and even penetrated into Sind, where it has been found in association with pottery pre-dating the Indus Culture.

Another distinctive and attractive ware, originally located by Professor Stuart Piggott near Quetta, was found on a number of fresh sites in north-western Kalat. One mound in particular was so thickly covered with cream pottery that even at a distance of four miles it stood out palely against the darker landscape. Quetta-ware³ is believed to be one of the earliest wares found in Baluchistan. Precise parallels to the well-made cream-slipped vessels decorated with black geometric designs have so far been found only near Persepolis in the Fars Province of Persia, though partially comparable pottery occurs at Anau in Russian Turkestan.

With a survey of the more accessible valleys near Kalat completed, we moved south through Surab to Khuzdar. The roughly metalled road, bumpy but good by local standards, descends through passes in the sharply folded limestone hills to blackened stony plateaux. The present desolation is

¹ Plate I, Nos. 4-9.

² Plate I, Nos. 4-5.

³ Plate I, Nos. 1-3.

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heightened in the Lakorian by the presence of great stone-built *gabr-bands* or dams. The largest *band* lies at the head of the valley, suspended between two hillocks for a length of 350 yards. Its 12-foot-high wall had been buttressed to withstand the main force of flood water draining from the hills, but despite a thickness of 9 feet it had been breached at several points. No date can be ascribed to these dams, but they represent at least the achievement of an energetic and stable agricultural community such as has not existed in these parts for some centuries if not millennia.

South of the Lakorian the road winds downwards through small valleys sheltering the black tents of Brahui nomads till it reaches the wheatfields of the Baghwana valley, where Londo, one of the six sites recorded, provided new and interesting material. There, amidst the profusion of pottery covering the mound, we found sherds decorated with an animal motif directly akin to designs found on vessels excavated at Sialk in central Persia and dated to about 1000 B.C.¹ Other patterns, particularly the finely arched head and neck of a deer,² suggest the influence of Assyrian seal motifs and strengthen the theory of a western derivation for Londo-ware. This ware appears to have had a wide distribution in southern Baluchistan, though there is at present no clear evidence of its penetration into the Indus plain. Equally, though more surprisingly when its western affinities are considered, there is as yet no trace of Londo-ware in Persian Makran, where, as a relative late-comer, it might have been expected on sites along the main routes leading to Baluchistan. From material collected on sites up the Kech river it is possible to trace its passage through southern to central Baluchistan, and had its western approach been overland sherds must surely have been found on the many sites which Stein visited in Persian Makran. Instead, it appears along two routes from the coast near Gwatar Bay on the Arabian Sea in a region which, with one exception, shows little sign of occupation in prehistoric times. There is thus every indica-

tion that the users of Londo-ware arrived by sea and not by the more usual overland routes.

But distribution maps are not always so productive. The present patchwork quality of archaeological survey in this region more often results in the recognition of a certain culture in widely separated areas, whilst providing little evidence of its progress through the intermediate zones. This was the case in regard to the Red Wares found in northern Persia and Baluchistan. More than twenty-five settlements have been discovered amongst the hills of the Zhob district of Baluchistan, all yielding examples of a ware entirely different in colour and design to the pottery of the south. Whilst it may be supposed that certain of the Zhob wares developed locally, it seemed unlikely that they had originated there. The supposition was that they had come from north-eastern Persia, and the next step was clearly to explore the more obvious approaches through Afghanistan.

The Kalat survey had shown conclusively that prehistoric occupation was usually concentrated along such natural thoroughfares as river valleys, and the principle applied to Afghanistan indicated as most likely the route skirting the foothills of the Hindukush between Kandahar and Herat, near the borders of Russian Turkestan and Persia. Accordingly, albeit with some qualms, I bought a jeep, borrowed a trailer, and set out from Lahore in April, 1949, accompanied once again by Sadar Din. Difficulties arose in Peshawar over the choice of a driver, since only one applicant possessed the necessary documents to enter Afghanistan without delay. A dour Shinwari, Daud Shah, claimed to be a mechanic well versed in jeeps, with fluency in Pushtoo and Persian as an additional qualification. Subsequent mishaps in a garageless country proved him in fact to be simply a lorry driver without mechanical ability or imagination and, more seriously, a man devoid of friendly courtesy or tact. But such failings had not become apparent when we joined the stream of tribespeople heading up through the barren Khyber

¹ Plate I, No. 10.

² Plate I, No. 12.

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hills to summer grazing grounds in Afghanistan. Men abristle with cartridges waved greetings as we threaded our way through herds of goats and camels, and speeded on towards the border. With the change of country the tarmac surface ended abruptly, and throughout the journey we were constrained to negotiate pot-holes, irrigation ditches and minor landslides at a leisurely crawl.

One day sufficed for official negotiations in Kabul, and we turned south towards Kandahar. Food, which was to become a major problem further west, was plentiful in wayside eating-houses equipped with samovar and bowls of eggs, pilau and other tit-bits. Once past Kandahar, however, such luxuries disappeared, and long stretches over sandy desert, swept by a hot dust-laden wind, often held prospect of nothing more appetizing than a muddy cup of tea and *nan*, the local equivalent of *chapatti*. Westward from Kandahar to the Helmund river a quivering heat-haze lay over the desert, bounded at this point by hills to the north and the ochre cliffs of the Registan desert, which formed the horizon to the south. With the exception of medieval remains at Khuski-Nakkud there was little to be seen until a narrow strip of cultivation marked the fringes of the Helmund. Brief surveys down its course failed to locate any but Ghaznavid and later medieval sites, and we continued westwards till the hillier but equally barren country between Dilaram and Farah gave some respite from the monotony of open desert.

But the hills provided other solace, for in an isolated valley eight miles from Siah Ab we found a series of rock-carvings extending up the course of a small *nullah* for nearly a mile.¹ *Graffiti* of this kind are difficult to date when unassociated with signs of settlement, and the sequence and conjectural dating of the present series rests solely upon stylistic features. The carvings fall into three main groups of which the largest and probably the latest comprised animals, usually urial, sharply engraved in outline. Despite their

competent execution this series of carvings bears an air of mass-production at variance with other group-scenes depicted on larger boulders. The subject and technique of these scenes differed materially. Animated scenes of warfare, hunting and pastoral life replaced the single rather wooden animal, and a comparison of the costume and weapons depicted suggests that these group-scenes were the work of at least two different peoples.² Exact analogies are hard to find. Rock-carvings of a somewhat different character occur in the North-West Frontier Province, and groups at Gandab and Mandori near Attock, associated with Kharoshti inscriptions, must on that account lie between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400. The Siah Ab carvings, however, bear a closer resemblance to *graffiti* of Blemyan and Arab origin found in Syria and the deserts of Libya and Arabia. It may well be that they are in fact the result of commercial intercourse between tribes in central Afghanistan and southern Baluchistan, where an Arab ruler governed even before the Arab invasion of the Indus region in A.D. 712.

But evidence of prehistoric occupation still remained to seek. A short detour down the Farah Rud revealed only medieval cities between Peshawarun and Juwain. Citadel and vestigial town-walls rise with the ruins of brick-built houses above the encroaching sand, and the abundance of good quality glazed pottery and glassware found on these sites points to their long-vanished prosperity. At Farah, the capital of the province, the modern city lies beside a large walled town, which had in turn succeeded an earlier settlement on the plain beneath the remains of a strongly fortified pre-Islamic hill-fort. North of Farah a number of small mounds appeared, but on only one were prehistoric sherds found in addition to the later Sassanian wares. Situated near the Farah Rud, the site may possibly represent a northerly outlier of the neolithic Buff Ware culture of Sistan, but its discovery throws no light on the route followed by users of the Red Wares of northern Persia.

¹ Plate II.

² Plate III.



PREHISTORIC PAINTED WARES FROM BALUCHISTAN: 1-3, QUETTA; 4-9, TOGAU; 10-12, LONDO

PLATE II.

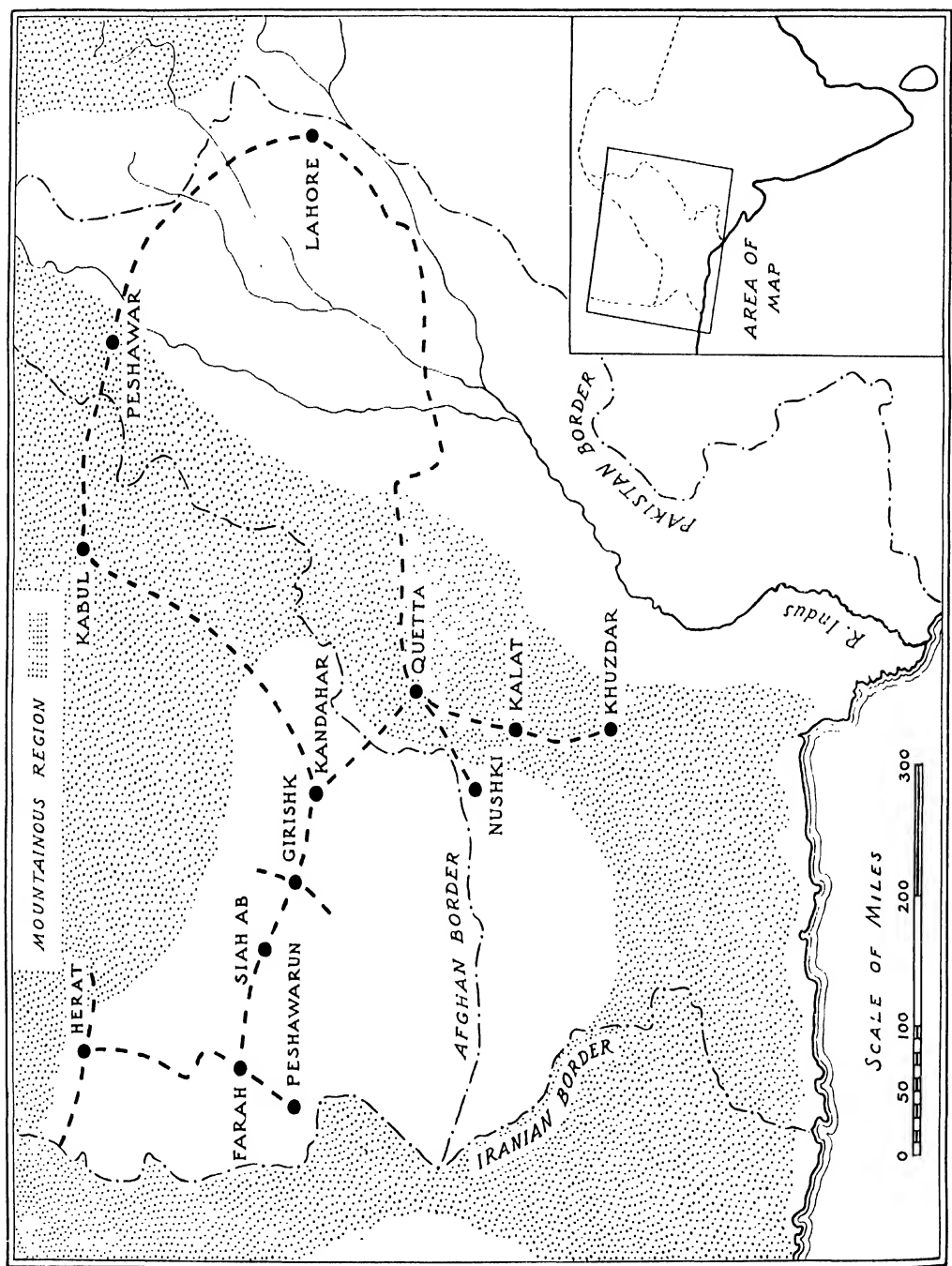


SITE OF ROCK-ENGRAVINGS NEAR SLAH AB, CENTRAL AFGHANISTAN



ROCK-ENGRAVINGS FOUND NEAR SIAM AB, AFGHANISTAN

PLATE IV.





SCENE FROM "THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA"

PLATE VI.



SCENE FROM "THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA"



DR. BHATTACHARYA, SIR WILLIAM BARTON, MR. RICHTER, LADY
BARTON WITH MR. GILBERT-CARTER AT THE BOTANICAL GARDEN



MR. FERNANDO, MR. HUSSEIN PASHA AND SIR FRANK BROWN

PLATE VIII.



MRS. BAKÉ WITH DR. BHATTACHARYA



MR. RAJAPAKSE WITH MR. PATRICK

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The Afghan survey failed completely in its object, but the failure is itself significant. The absence of prehistoric sites along a route extending for some 700 miles may indicate that the plains of central Afghanistan were even then too barren to support more than a nomadic population. Settlements may perhaps exist in the better-watered hill tracts to the north, where conditions correspond more closely to the valleys of Baluchistan. Alternatively, it is possible that a more direct route lay across the Dasht-i-Margo in a region as yet largely unexplored. The problem is only one of many, but it illustrates

more graphically than most the need for further archaeological survey in this important borderland between East and West.

And, as exploration adds to the general pattern of occupation, these problems will multiply. Even the brief survey of Kalat resulted in the introduction of two new wares, Togau and Londo, to complicate the issue further. In the present inadequate and sketchy state of knowledge these complications may be expected to accumulate, and only planned exploration accompanied by selective excavation can bring order into the resultant chaos.

EXHIBITION—LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

By HELEN CASTORI JOURDE

AN exhibition of paintings by Madame Jourde was held under the Society's auspices in the art gallery of the Imperial Institute during the summer season. The most striking example of her work was a six-panelled screen consisting of twenty-one panels. The illustrations show two panels of the screen (see Plates V and VI).

In addition two four-panelled screens, one

entitled "Four Cactus Varieties" and the other "Exotic Scenery," were shown at the exhibition and fifty-three separate paintings.

The fabrics which decorated the walls of the gallery were kindly lent by Mr. Ram Gopal.

The distinguished gathering which attended the opening ceremony included H.E. The Burmese Ambassador.

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A RUNNING COMMENTARY

By SYBIL MATHESON

FIRST DAY

"CULTURAL RELATIONS" was the subject chosen for discussion at this year's summer school held by the Royal India and Pakistan Society at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the opening lecture was given before a distinguished audience on July 10 by Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, who has recently returned from a tour of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Sir Eugen had visited these countries

under the auspices of the Society with the intention of making known English culture through her poetry, and of learning something of local poetry and culture.

He said that in each place he had seen most of the institutions and authorities who might be interested in his mission, and while staying in these places had given on an average two lectures, addresses or broadcasts per day, and often more. On two occasions

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he had done five in the day. His audiences were of the most varied, ranging from one of 300 in the main assembly room of the University of Calcutta, with the Vice-Chancellor in the chair, to small but select and representative gatherings in the residences of important officials or in private houses. Audiences of some two or three hundred in other universities, colleges and schools were frequent, and often their obviously eager spirit was most encouraging and stimulating.

He proceeded to give some impressions of the countries which he visited, emphasizing that it was his first visit to the East and that therefore his impressions were first impressions, not based on any specialized knowledge. He limited his remarks in the main to India, Pakistan and Ceylon, urging his view that the name of the latter country should be included in the title of the Society and that the Society should, in the main, limit its operations to those three countries, since they were in themselves a whole-time job for cultural relations alone.

His longest stays had been some ten days each in Bombay, Colombo and Calcutta, Bangkok and Singapore. His stays in Delhi and Karachi had unfortunately been reduced by unforeseen circumstances. Other places visited were Madras, Bangalore, Lahore, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Rangoon, Indo-China, Hong Kong and Manila. He had gone on to make a short visit to Australia and New Zealand, but did not regard that as coming at all within the scope of his address.

He began his tour in Ceylon as guest of Lord Soulbury. "If there was such a thing as a Davis Cup for happiness, and an Asiatic zone for it," Sir Eugen told his audience, "Ceylon would win it easily; not only is it a happy country by the nature of its people, but the problems to be solved there are all of a kind the solution of which depends only on the Sinhalese themselves, which is a very happy and unusual state of affairs."

Sir Eugen went on to say that the remains of the civilization and culture of ancient Ceylon which had most impressed him were the canals of the Northern section which had

been made some fifteen hundred years ago and at which modern engineers marvelled today.

As far as India was concerned, Sir Eugen said that he was first and foremost struck by the widespread use and intimate knowledge of the English language. "I knew that English was the language of commerce and administration in the East, but I didn't realize it was the bracketed number-one language of all intellectuals of India, and for that matter of Pakistan and Ceylon too," he commented. "It was an inspiration to read and hear the remarkable speeches made by Indian statesmen who had as complete a command of English as though it was their own language."

Sir Eugen said that he had been tremendously impressed by Hindu and Mughal architecture, and that, for instance, he had found the Taj Mahal "quite overwhelming—it made a Gothic cathedral look very primitive; it made Versailles quite dull and Windsor Castle positively awkward. In Lahore the Shalimar gardens quite overshadowed those of Hampton Court and Fontainebleau. "I attended a garden party there," Sir Eugen continued, "at which the Governor-General of Pakistan was present, and it reminded me of a Buckingham Palace garden party in its lavishness and number of guests."

Sir Eugen had made poetry his medium of cultural exchange and had particularly made a study of poetry written in English by Indian poets. He mentioned an anthology compiled by Dr. Bhushan, who was on the committee of the Indian Institute of Culture of Bombay, and suggested that the next book to be published by the Royal India and Pakistan Society might be an English edition of this book, which was originally published in Bombay and was now almost out of print. He was particularly impressed by the extraordinary activity in cultural development following India's independence, of which the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay was a very good example, and he told his audience that there were equally flourishing cultural centres in other parts of India too. Countries like India, Pakistan and Ceylon, with their

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ancient culture and recent political independence, had come of age with a new feeling of cultural and moral independence, and Sir Eugen had felt that in this new state these countries were disposed to welcome a "commerce of ideas"—hence his journey to the East.

Eighty per cent. of the lectures given by Sir Eugen during his tour were readings of English poetry—Pope, Tennyson and Shakespeare were favourites—and the other 20 per cent. readings of poems written in English by Indians and Pakistanis. Three of these latter Sir Eugen quoted to his audience at Cambridge: Tagore's "Where the Mind is Without Fear," which showed India's objective; Humayun Kabir's "Doubts," which explained her misgivings and difficulties; and Sri Aurobindo's "Invitation," which expressed in brief and telling poetic form the task of all concerned in shaping India's future. Sir Eugen had recorded this past poem for Madras Radio, and later received a letter from a member of Sri Aurobindo's family telling him that they had all listened to the broadcast with great appreciation, and the wish that Sir Eugen had read others of his poems.

In this connection Sir Eugen said that the new Constitution of India was perhaps the most thorough-going document of human rights to be found in the world today. "It is epoch-making," he affirmed, "and all of us who wish India well must congratulate her upon that achievement; and with that as a basis there are great possibilities for the future." Sir Eugen concluded by saying that he had everywhere received a very warm welcome and found tremendous interest in his mission, particularly among eager young students who crowded his lectures.

One or two members of the audience commented on and discussed points raised by Sir Eugen, among the speakers being Sir William Barton, Mr. Powell Price, formerly of the Indian Educational Service, and Mrs. Peter Latham, the fresco painter, who had recently returned from India, where she had accompanied her husband, who was acting as music examiner. Mrs. Latham had advised

Hyderabad authorities on the conservation of the Ajanta frescoes.

Other members of the audience included Lord Inchcape, who has recently been proposed and accepted as President of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, Lady Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Mr. H. N. Spalding, Dr. and Mrs. Arnold Baké, Mr. and Mrs. Powell Price, Dr. Reginald le May, former Commercial Advisor to the Siamese Government, Mrs. Frankel, Miss Alty, Mrs. Brook, and representatives of the India, Pakistan and Ceylon students associations and unions.

SECOND DAY

On the second day members learned how Britain's interests in Indian culture began as far back as the sixteenth century. They heard recordings of Indian and Pakistani classical music and later on in the day were able to contrast these with folk songs of other lands. A full day also included a visit to the University Library to see the very fine collection of Sanskrit and Mughal manuscripts and a lantern lecture on Hindu-Muslim architecture.

The first lecture of the day was given by Dr. Siddheswar Bhattacharya on "Some Aspects of Indic Studies in the United Kingdom." Dr. Bhattacharya, who has been lecturing in Sanskrit and Bengali at the School of Oriental and African Studies since 1948, traced the history of British interest in Indian culture from the sixteenth century, when Stevens was the first Englishman to study an Indian language—Koṅkanī—right up to the present day. He pointed out that this interest had fluctuated with the centuries and that it reached an extremely low level during the first forty years of this century, but that it was now steadily increasing, after the renaissance of oriental studies brought about by the Scarbrough Report of 1947.

"Culture to me is a dynamic way of life at the bottom of which lies invention," said Dr. Bhattacharya. "This invention or discovery in the vast majority of cases is achieved by individuals, geniuses who are as basic to all invention as invention is to cultural change. Indeed, culture develops by the slow but

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steady accumulation of new inventions by individuals in their creative moments and by the diffusion of such inventions to others." Dr. Bhattacharya pointed out that both East and West had much to offer each other, by the process of "cross-fertilization" as the Scarbrough Commission called it.

"In the process of fertilizing British culture by the innovation of Indic culture in the British way of life, the invention of Indian culture was the first step," Dr. Bhattacharya went on. "The vague curiosity of invention was consolidated by the untiring activities of geniuses like Sir William Jones, who in the eighteenth century translated *Śakuntalā* and *Rtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa and who said of Sanskrit, 'The Sanskrit language, whatever its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either. . . .' Activities of men like Jones resulted in limited recognition of Indian studies at some universities, but its full-fledged recognition found expression in the Scarbrough Commission Report and Government effort which is now being directed to weave Indian culture into the national fabric of this country."

Dr. Bhattacharya went on to remind his listeners of Professor C. E. M. Joad's opinion that the West has the energy and vitality of a young civilization, but doesn't know in which channels to direct its energies, while the East possesses tradition and knowledge but lacks vitality. "Each lacks something which the other can give; can they then be brought together?" "Civilization is on trial, and I consider interfusion of cultures to be an adequate defence," Dr. Bhattacharya continued, and he confirmed the suggestion of the Commission that London should have an Oriental Centre where cultural activities could be more satisfactorily integrated. He praised the work of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, which had "undertaken the task of stimulating and sustaining interest in this country by practical demonstration or otherwise in the principal arts of India, Pakistan and Ceylon—painting, dancing, music, architecture and sculpture. In opening a summer school it is perhaps uncon-

sciously translating a recommendation of the Scarbrough Report into action," concluded Dr. Bhattacharya.

For the first 18 years of his life Dr. Bhattacharya lived in the village at which he was born, Boinchi in Hoogli District, Bengal, and at Benares. Since 1933 he made an extensive study of all principal branches of Sanskrit and later became an Assistant Professor in the Sanskrit Department of the Benares Hindu University. Two years ago, when he was thirty-four, he was appointed Lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, where he had taken his doctor's degree. He was also called to the Bar in London, and now expects to remain in England with his wife and two children for at least another eighteen months.

Dr. Arnold Baké's lecture dealt with the mutual influences of Persian and Indian (including Pakistani) classical music. "It is self-evident that the music of Northern India is a development, a flowering that could not have come into being without this mutual influence," said Dr. Baké, and went on to deplore the danger that "the delicate and slender beauty of the best classical Indian music was about to be steam-rolled out of existence beneath the weight of Western and American harmony. . . . There were no such dangers when the music of India and that of the Islamic world came together." He pointed out that Hindu tradition established Tan Sen as the chief instigator of this "marriage," which was an effort to fuse the best of both civilizations.

After dwelling on the origins and growth of Sufism, Dr. Baké showed how powerful Indo-Buddhist influences worked on the mysticism of Islam throughout Sufism developed into a purely Islamic expression. "But whereas Islam in general looks with scorn on music, the Sufis stressed its importance and saw in it rather an aid and even an essential means to bring the soul nearer to God," said Dr. Baké. "In doing so they came very close to the Indian approach."

Dr. Baké then went on to mention two mystics who were profoundly influenced by the Sufic impulse, Kabir and Guru Nanak,

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both of whom were singers as well as mystical poets, and who continued the old Indian tradition as well as following the footsteps of the Sufic poets. "So we need feel no surprise when we see that side by side with the basic affinity in expression and with the language which incorporated words from either religious sphere the music used from the Middle Ages onwards belongs to both worlds as well. The final shape of the North Indian Ragas and Raginis was a result of the combined efforts of Hindus and Muslims," said Dr. Baké, "and the very formulation of the laws of Ragas has its close parallels in the Muslim world as far west as Morocco."

Vocal and instrumental demonstrations should have been given by Mrs. Jawed and Dr. Sarkar, but Dr. Baké explained that, owing to illness, neither of them was able to be present, so he then gave several very fine examples of traditional songs himself, including examples of the Raga Malkaus, and afterwards played gramophone records made by prominent Indian and Pakistani singers and musicians, including Bade Ghulam Ali, Bismillah and Pandit Onkarnath.

After describing the instruments and methods used Dr. Baké concluded: "We may analyse and dissect the culture of Northern India to look for the separate Hindu and Muslim elements, but the fact remains that in essence the two are inseparable; the culture we admire is unthinkable when one eliminates the one or the other."

During the afternoon members of the Society visited the Cambridge University Library, which shares with the Bodleian (Oxford) and the British Museum the honour of being entitled to a copy of every book published. It has some three and a half million volumes as compared with the British Museum's five millions. A special display was organized of ancient Sanskrit documents, including palm-leaf books and beautifully illuminated Mughal books. Members also saw something of the Library's unique filing and recording system and then went on to Pembroke College, where they heard a recital of folk songs from all parts of the world. The singer was Miss Victoria Kingsley, who is

planning an extended tour of India and Pakistan later this year.

Miss Kingsley, who has recently returned from a tour of South America, sang some of the songs she hopes to introduce to audiences in India and Pakistan. "I hope to find kindred points of interest and definite links between the music of these two countries and the music of the West," said Miss Kingsley, "and especially perhaps in what I call 'working' songs, such as the weaving songs of the Outer Hebrides and sea shanties and children's songs."

She gave a most spirited recital of folk songs from Spain, Chile, the Argentine and Brazil, accompanying herself on the guitar, as well as singing a number of "mouth music" and other Gaelic songs from the Western Isles and old English folk songs and ballads. After the recital Dr. Arnold Baké said that he was sure she would find much in common between those and folk music all over India and Pakistan, particularly the "working" songs, the Hebridean mouth music and the cross-rhythms of South America.

Final lecture of the day was given by Dr. Percival Spear, Bursar of Selwyn College, Cambridge, formerly a Professor at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and largely responsible for arranging this year's summer school at Cambridge. Dr. Spear spoke about Hindu-Muslim architecture and illustrated his talk with lantern slides. Explaining that he proposed to show his audience two very different traditions and forms of architecture, and how they combined over a period of several centuries to form a new and unique style which is seen in some of its finest manifestations in Agra and Delhi, Dr. Spear first demonstrated the essential differences between Hindu and Muslim architecture.

Hindu builders continued to think in terms of wood long after they were building in stone; the Muslim tradition adapted Middle East Byzantine traditions. Hindus used sculpture and naturalistic forms of decoration and depended greatly on the use of the pillar and the transom, but Muslims used the true arch and brought with them the

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Middle East traditions of the great courtyards, minars, colourful tile work and geometrical designs. How those quite different styles were harmoniously blended was clearly illustrated by the many lantern slides. Dr. Spear used of Kutub Mosque, the tomb of Altamsh, many of the buildings in Fatehpur Sikri, Agra, Delhi and other parts of India. These originally sprang from the use of Hindu workmen and craftsmen building mosques and tombs for the Muslims, and culminated in the glorious example of the Taj Mahal, with its Mughal dome capped with an up-turned lotus, and the many other Hindu influences.

"This was indeed a symbol of unity in diversity," said Dr. Spear. "And I like to think that it may still serve as a symbol of a deeper unity which may grow in the future."

THIRD DAY

For the second time in two days a Cambridge lecture hall resounded to the full rich tones of Dr. Arnold Baké's voice as he sang several of Rabindranath Tagore's song poems with what a Bengali professor described as "most passionate and devoted expression." Members of the Society also heard lectures on the Nagas of Assam and on Indian painting.

Dr. Baké spoke on "Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's urge to freedom as expressed in his poetry," a subject on which he had great personal knowledge, having lived for eight years in Shantiniketan, during which he met the great Bengali poet almost daily and accompanied him on his tour of Java.

After recalling Tagore's immense popularity before the first World War, a period when almost every publication one picked up contained photographs, poems or essays by the poet, Dr. Baké said that at that time "Tagore and Shantiniketan were magical words which drew people from all over the world to this corner of Bengal," but that many of today's generation had scarcely even heard the name of Tagore, much less read his poetry. This was largely due to the rapidity with which political events and world changes had taken place, but those who did not know Tagore's

work were missing something very vital. Tagore wrote over three thousand poems and melodies, said Dr. Baké, but, since he had a bad memory, he entrusted the memorizing of these tunes to his great-nephew Dinendranath Tagore, who unfortunately died not only before his great-uncle, but before many of the melodies had been recorded in writing, and hence a great number of them were lost for all time.

"Often Rabindranath Tagore composed as many as six songs a day," went on Dr. Baké, "and one aspect of his urge for freedom demonstrated itself in his refusal to stick blindly to the accepted laws of classical music. His fight for political freedom was another aspect of this urge, and yet another was his intense dislike of making any outside engagements and of having to stick to timetables, and so on."

After showing some lantern slides of photographs he had taken of the poet at home—slides which had been specially made for this lecture and were being shown for the first time—Dr. Baké illustrated the essential unity of melody and poem by singing several of Tagore's song poems which expressed his longing for freedom. He sang "If your brothers desert you," and a group of three songs, the first ("My realization will be in the breaking of bonds. I shall break the bonds and call 'Fear Not,'" from the play *Notir Puja*) demonstrating the desire for physical freedom. The second song concerned the inner bonds of the spirit, "Feel thy release in the air, O Bird," and the third song in the group was taken from another play called *The Post Office*, illustrating deliverance from the limitations of the body. "The real reason for all unrest is in the last instance the eternal seeking for Him who calls 'I wander in search of him who lives in my heart,' as Tagore expresses it," said Dr. Baké; and after singing "In one salutation to Thee, my God," Dr. Baké concluded: "Tagore was a poet for whom words and melody were one and who found in this unity the means to express the most essential and valuable emotions of his innermost heart."

This was Dr. Baké's last lecture in England

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before leaving for the Continent, where he is to address the International Conference of Musicologists near Hamburg.

Professor J. H. Hutton, Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge University, who has spent twenty-seven years in India in the I.C.S., was the second lecturer of the morning, and gave members of the Society a vivid and rather light-hearted talk on the Nagas tribes, illustrated with most graphic lantern slides of photographs taken by the professor in the Naga country. Some of these, showing human heads adorning poles erected in the rice fields and shelves of skulls in the granaries, made one wonder how the professor with his impressive beard managed to escape with his own head still intact.

The professor pointed out the cultural links between the Nagas and certain Central Indian and northern Bengal tribes; features such as the bachelor's house and various primitive methods of cultivation were common to tribes in both Assam and other parts of India.

During the afternoon members of the Society visited the Fitzwilliam Museum to see the collection of Persian and Indian miniatures which was bequeathed by the late P. C. Manuk, formerly a well-known barrister at Patna, and who jointly possessed with Miss G. M. Coles one of the finest and largest collections of Indian paintings in the country. This collection was divided between the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Fitzwilliam, and the latter had had first choice of the bequest, since Manuk himself had been a Cambridge graduate.

The paintings, which are not normally on show, owing to lack of room in the museum, included two illustrations from the *Hamza Nama*, an Islamic romance begun for the Emperor Humayun and completed for Akbar, illustrations from the *Shah Nama* and from Sadi's *Bustan*, as well as examples from the Mughal, Kangra and Rajput schools. Members also saw some examples of Gandhara sculpture and a very fine collection of Islamic ceramics, as well as Islamic tile-work rugs and embroidery from Turkey, Persia, Damascus

and Mesopotamia. The Fitzwilliam Museum has recently presented the Pakistan Government with an ivory model of the Taj Mahal which had been in its possession for over a hundred years.

The final item of the day's programme was a lecture by Mr. W. G. Archer, Keeper of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Mr. Archer, who has written many books on Indian art and poetry and who was formerly in the I.C.S., showed how the English conception of Indian paintings had changed during the last two hundred years. "Indian paintings have never evoked much interest in England," said Mr. Archer, "and the real reason is very simple—people in England have never known what Indian painting is really like. Over the last two hundred years the term 'Indian Paintings' has constantly changed its meaning—indeed, the discovery of new styles of Indian paintings has made us change our whole attitude to the works that went before."

Mr. Archer then went on to show how the introduction of the Clive and Johnson collections to England in the late eighteenth century first brought Mughal paintings to the notice of the British public. These paintings were mainly descriptive, while the more purely Indian—such as the Kangra, Basrali and Rajput—schools were essentially poetic. How these earlier schools subconsciously influenced present-day artists was vividly shown in the profuse collection of slides which Mr. Archer used to illustrate his lecture, some of them from originals in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Finally, a striking Picasso-like figure of a veiled woman, taken from a North Bihar wall painting in a bridal chamber, was contrasted with the work of the Bengali artist Jamini Ray and the Sinhalese artist George Keyt, whose work carried the traditions of early Indian paintings to a logical point of development.

FOURTH DAY

The peaceful setting of this university city of Cambridge, with its ancient colleges backing on to the quiet river, is forming the

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perfect background for the Royal India and Pakistan Society's Summer School. On this, the fourth day of the school, members heard a Sinhalese musician give a recital of his country's music, both traditional and modern, a very fine lecture on Indian village poetry, and later in the evening heard something of the archaeological work that is being done in Pakistan today.

The day began with a lecture by Mr. W. G. Archer, Keeper of the India Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Mr. Archer dealt almost exclusively with tribal poetry, largely that of such tribes as the Murias, Gonds, Santals, Baigas and Uraons. He showed how the extensive use of symbolism in Indian paintings found its counterpart in the folk or village poetry, and he traced the very brief history of such poetry as known in the United Kingdom since its "discovery" during the last twenty or thirty years.

"In Indian village poetry we already possess a national literature of the very greatest beauty and value," Mr. Archer said, after quoting a number of traditional poems from the various tribes, and he went on to explain how the tribal poetry of India remained almost completely unknown until the early part of the twentieth century.

Mr. Archer then pointed out that it was in the 1920s that the tremendous upsurge of national feelings evoked a new interest in traditional poetry, and among those who felt this need for a national literature was Devendra Satyarthi, a Hindu poet from the Punjab, who said that "a nation reborn must be inspired by its folk songs." "It was this passionate desire for a national literature that compelled Ram Naresh Tripathi to make his collection of Bhojpuri songs and Rakesh to record the songs of Mithila," said Mr. Archer. "This was the driving force behind the work of Jasimuddin in Bengal, and it inspired Devendra Satyarthi himself to undertake his famous journeys, in which he would set off with scarcely a rupee and hitch-hike from village to village all over India, coaxing peasants to sing their songs. In this way he collected over three lakhs of songs."

It was about this time, too, that British

administrators like Sir Wilfred Grigson and poet scholars such as Verrier Elwin simultaneously realized that in the poetry of village India lay something of profound importance for the understanding of Indian culture. "The songs are important," Elwin wrote, "not only because the music, form and content of verse are themselves part of a people's life, but even more because in songs we have the most authentic and unshakable witnesses to fact. Anthropology has passed the stage when a report had only to appear in print to be accepted. Today we want to know whether the report is true . . . and for this there can be no better evidence than songs."

"The first book to express this new approach," the lecturer continued, "was *Songs of the Forest*, by Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hivale; these were Gond songs and poems." Mr. Archer went on to explain how village poetry is essentially simple, natural and clean; it is the poetry of nature and above all of love. "A modern poet is something different from a folk poet. His sensibility is much more complicated; his attitudes are far less simple. Yet it is perhaps by using the methods of folk poetry and in particular its symbolism that a modern Indian poet can achieve his best effects." He then compared an extract from a poem by the modern Spanish poet Garcia Lorcas with a village song in which both used similar symbols.

"It is through the use of symbolism—symbols of the tiger, crab, deer, clouds, rain, lightning—symbols which for centuries have satisfied the Indian villager, that a modern Indian poet can perhaps become not merely a poet's poet but a people's poet, and a truly modern national literature can find its best foundation."

Something of this same simplicity and use of naturalistic symbols characterized Mr. Hubert Rajapakse's recital of Sinhalese and other folk songs. Mr. Rajapakse, who took his degree at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1924, studied Western music in Paris under Blanche Marchese, one of Queen Victoria's favourite singers. He comes from Balapitiya in Southern Ceylon and has an artistic

heritage, for his father, Gate Mudaliyar Quader Rajapakse, is a well-known artist and held a one-man exhibition in Colombo last year—he is eighty-one years old and still paints without using spectacles.

His son, who was touring England for the first time, came to the United Kingdom at the invitation of Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, whose guest he is. Accompanying himself on the piano, Mr. Rajapakse sang the traditional Kandyan song "The Queen's farewell to her lover," followed by three Vannams (traditional folk songs), one dealing with a hawk, one with a hare, and the third praising a horse, this last based on an incident in the life of Prince Siddhartha. He then contrasted these traditional songs with two modern ones, the first a charming air called "Siri Sangabo," from the opera *Ode to the Sacred City*, and the second a popular Sinhalese love song, "The Lotus Flower."

Then this Sinhalese musician showed his versatility and the extensive range of his very fine voice by singing several Sicilian folk songs, a negro spiritual, a Gaelic lament, a lively Spanish flamenco, and by special request from an Indian member of the audience, Tagore's "Jana Gana Mana." The songs of Ceylon proved especially interesting to the Society, for there is very little opportunity to hear the music of this island, and certainly English audiences have been very appreciative of Hubert Rajapakse's recitals. He was thanked by Sir William Barton: who said: "Ceylon has to play a very important part in the Commonwealth and it is equally important that we should study her culture. I hope that people in the United Kingdom will take more interest in this highly civilized people represented so ably by Hubert Rajapakse."

Since arriving in England last April, Mr. Rajapakse has fulfilled a number of engagements, beginning with a recital at Magdalen College, Oxford, and including recitals at Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle and Edinburgh, as well as others in London, at one of which Sir Oliver Goonetilleke presided. He had found schoolboys at one famous English public school, Eton, perhaps the

most appreciative audience of any he has encountered in the United Kingdom, but, said Mr. Rajapakse, "the thing I like most about British audiences is that people here are vocal in their appreciation; they stay behind and tell you just what it is they like about your songs and singing, and I've found my tour here all pleasure—English people listen and tell you just what they feel and give you constructive criticism too."

The English summer is notoriously temperamental, but members of the summer school this year have been exceptionally lucky and it has generally rained only when students were safely indoors. Their luck held during the afternoon, when they visited the Cambridge University Botanical Gardens at the invitation of their Director, Mr. Humphrey Gilbert-Carter, formerly of the Botanical Survey in India. Mr. Gilbert-Carter, who came to the gardens in 1921 straight from Calcutta, where he had been for seven years, personally took members round the extensive gardens. He showed them many fine trees and plants from India, including many used in the Unani system of medicine. Afterwards members went on to the Institute of Oriental Studies, where Professor Arberry, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, received them and told them something of the work of the Institute, which includes various lectureships, such as those of Arabic and Sanskrit. This was a subject with which the professor intended to deal more fully on Friday morning (July 14) in a lecture entitled "The Future of Islamic Studies at the University of Cambridge."

Last item in the day's programme was a lecture by Professor R. E. Mortimer Wheeler dealing with archæology in Pakistan, and the professor began with the history of the Pakistan Archæological Department and its formation in 1947.

After many conferences between India and Pakistan, Professor Wheeler, who had been invited by the Pakistan Government to act as Archæological Adviser, had arranged for what he described as "on the whole a very fair division of all archæological finds made in pre-partition India, and Pakistan was now in

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the position of having a very fine collection of her own which she had supplemented by more recent finds."

Professor Wheeler's season at Mohenjo Daro during February, March and April this year was the first excavation to be undertaken by the Pakistan Government, and that it was most successful was seen from the many new and hitherto unpublished slides with which the lecture was illustrated. "Very little has been done archaeologically in East Pakistan," said Professor Wheeler, "and there lies a great field of exploration for future Pakistani archaeologists. But in Western Pakistan it is a different matter. Some of the oldest artifacts in the whole of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent have been found there, crude implements which geologists have placed at 400,000 years old. Then in 1921 came the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization, which roughly covers the entire area of Western Pakistan today."

The professor then showed with a series of graphic slides the spectacular work that had been done on the Mohenjo Daro site this season, culminating with the triumphant discovery of the great granary and the tragic story so clearly shown of the last inhabitants of the city, who were massacred by invaders and whose pathetic skeletons remain where they fell in the grotesque positions of sudden death between three and four thousand years ago.

"And what is the effect of all this on the man in the street in Pakistan?" concluded the professor in summing up. "Well, the State railway ran special excursions to the site towards the end of the dig, when we were working in a temperature of 110° in the shade, and the return journey took three days, two of them in the train, with a bumpy eight-mile trip over a non-existent road at the end. Yet these trains were packed with ordinary people—shopkeepers, professional men and clerks, with their wives and families, who walked all day through the dust in the hot sun to see Mohenjo Daro. And there's your answer. There is a new public in Pakistan, a public realizing that Mohenjo Daro is something of great importance in the history of the

State, and which is prepared to undergo considerable discomfort to see it."

"I believe the Archæological Department has a great future in front of it," concluded the professor. It is building up a new tradition hopefully with a very good prospect of success."

LAST DAY

The Summer School at Cambridge ended with a talk by Professor A. S. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, and a lantern lecture given by Mr. John Irwin, Assistant Keeper of the India and Pakistan Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Professor Arberry spoke of the future of Islamic Studies at Cambridge University. He was introduced by Sir William Barton, who said that one of the main necessities for ensuring peace in the world today is for the Commonwealth to develop the closest possible ties between its members and the Muslim world, and that Cambridge University is doing a very great deal towards binding those ties.

For two hundred years Cambridge University had two professors of Arabic, a language which Professor Arberry called "the parent of Islamic culture." The professor said that the ultimate aim of academic teaching was usually accepted as being discipline, and the question was whether Islamic studies constituted a satisfactory discipline. "The answer is quite clear when we look at the extent and quality of Islamic civilization and its relevance and relation to other matters which are common constituents of a good general school education," explained the professor. "Islam touches Christendom at so many points, the history of the Muslim peoples has been so inextricably mixed up with the history of Europe, the content of Islamic thought is so little dissimilar fundamentally to that of the West, that the undergraduate who reads Arabic and Persian does not need to think himself transported to another planet."

Professor Arberry gave an outline of the history of Arabic and Islamic studies in

Cambridge, which was the first British university to receive an endowment for Arabic teaching, in 1632, when Sir Thomas Adams endowed a Chair for Arabic studies. This was followed by a second Arabic endowment by the Crown in 1715. In the last years of the nineteenth century both Persian and Urdu were taught in Cambridge and later regular provision was made for a post in Persian, but, owing to lack of financial support, neither Turkish nor Urdu received endowments. After the publication of the Scarbrough Report, rightly called the Magna Carta of oriental studies in Great Britain, the Islamic Department had received its very modest share of the grants made for oriental studies; the Persian lectureship had been converted into a professorship (thus making good the loss of the Lord Almoner's Chair of Arabic, suppressed in 1934), while lectureships had been added in Arabic and Islamic history. An Arabic and a Persian lector (lecturers who are teaching in their mother tongues) were on the teaching staff, and a lecturer in Persian was shortly to be appointed. It was hoped later to teach Turkish and Urdu, which today were not represented in the university.

"It is our hope to provide successively for Islamic Theology and Philosophy," went on Professor Arberry, "Islamic Law and Institutions, and Islamic Archæology and Art. . . . Arabic is spoken and written all along the southern shore of the Mediterranean; the Arabs fought in the Crusades as well as the Franks; the Turks once penetrated as far west as Vienna; Islamic philosophy and science form the bridge between Aristotle and Descartes, Archimedes and Newton; Islam is very close in many aspects of doctrine and ritual to Christianity and Judaism; Islamic law is paramount in many parts of the British Commonwealth; the study of medieval and Renaissance architecture and art is incomplete without at least a passing glance at what the Saracens created—in short, the legacy of Islam to modern Europe is very much greater than is generally supposed," said the professor, and concluded, "The heirs to that legacy ought in common

decency to learn a little about who these particular benefactors were."

In reply to a question Professor Arberry said that there were some fifty students at the Oriental Institute, and Hussein Pasha, representing the Pakistan Students Federation, expressed his appreciation of the work done by Professor Arberry at the Institute.

Finally Mr. John Irwin, who has spent some five years in Bengal, showed by means of lantern slides some of the new acquisitions which the India and Pakistan Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum had received during the past five or six years.

These included a particularly fine Gupta head from Sultanganj, and many lovely examples of cotton painting and embroidery which came to the museum in two textile bequests, that of Sir Michael Sadler and G. P. Baker.

Particularly interesting were the examples of bedspreads and other textiles specially made in India for the Western market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were also many examples of Gandhara sculpture which had come from two of the most important private collections in the country, of which the Victoria and Albert Museum had had first choice—those of General Haughton and Colonel D. H. Gordon. One or two of the exhibits were still something of a puzzle to the Museum authorities, and among those Mr. Irwin showed a carved "ring-stone" of the Mauryan period—the only one of its kind in this country, although there are eleven others in India and Pakistan. These stones have been discovered over a wide area between Patna and Taxila, but their exact purpose is still unknown.

The Indian adaptation of fashionable seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western furniture was another subject on which Mr. Irwin dwelt. Many lovely examples of ivory inlay work could be bought today quite cheaply in second-hand shops, said Mr. Irwin, and they were often not appreciated as they should be. The best examples can be regarded as works of art in their own right and not as mere imitations of Western furniture.

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Afterwards Dr. le May, who had visited India as a delegate of the Siamese Government to study rural co-operative credit, and who had made an extensive study of Indian art, summed up. "We've heard ten lecturers speak on a great variety of subjects which will help all of us here whose aim is to try and further closer relations between East and West," said Dr. Le May, and went on to

thank Mr. Richter, Honorary Secretary of the Society, whose efforts had made the Summer School so successful. All three student delegates, Mr. Hussein Pasha from Pakistan, Mr. Patrick Fernando from Ceylon and Mr. R. Thomas from India, also spoke of their appreciation. Next year's summer school is expected to be held at Oxford University.

THE FUTURE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES AT CAMBRIDGE¹

By PROFESSOR A. J. ARBERRY

THE point of departure in all these matters nowadays is, inevitably, the Scarbrough Report, rightly called the Magna Carta of oriental studies in Great Britain. But to talk to you, however briefly and superficially, about Islamic studies in this university, it is necessary to go back into the more distant past, and review what has been attempted and accomplished by our predecessors in the face of many difficulties and with few encouragements. For it is because of the splendid tradition which we have inherited from them that we in our time feel able to hope, and obliged to work, for at least equal accomplishment in the future, fortified as we have been by the great sympathy and statesmanlike recommendations, accepted by all parties in Parliament, of that Commission over which Lord Scarbrough presided.

Cambridge came to the study of Arabic in modern times—I say nothing of the Middle Ages, because nothing is certainly known—early in the seventeenth century, that great epoch of economic and intellectual adventure. Indeed, Cambridge was the first British university, by four years, to receive an endowment for Arabic teaching: whereas Archbishop Laud founded his pro-

fessorship at Oxford in 1636, it was in 1632 that Sir Thomas Adams, "bred a draper in London, where God so blessed his honest industry, that he became Lord Mayor thereof 1646," agreed to "defray the charge of an Arabic Lecture, at £40 per annum," for his friend Abraham Wheelocke of this place. In 1636 our Vice-Chancellor and eight other Heads of Houses reported very favourably to Sir Thomas Adams upon Wheelocke's work in a historic letter containing the earliest definition of the place of Arabic studies in this university:

"The worke it selfe wee conceive to tend not onely to the advancement of good Literature by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is lockt upp in that learned tongue; but also to the good service of the King and State in our commerce with those Easterne nations, and in Gods good time to the enlarging of the borders of the Church and propagation of Christian religion to them who now sitt in darknesse."

It is interesting and heartening to compare these words, penned over three centuries ago, with what might almost be thought to be their echo in the Scarbrough Report:

¹ Paper read at the Society's Summer School in Cambridge, July, 1950.

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"In the whole of Asia our political influence and our commercial position alike will depend upon our ability to establish with the peoples ties of a kind which they will readily accept. . . . If we are to preserve close and intimate relations with the nations of Asia we must develop in our own country an interest in the cultures of the East of a quality which will command the respect of Eastern scholars and on a scale which will in time spread its influence among the general public of Great Britain."

If the City of London, in the person of one of its most enlightened and godly liverymen, took the first step in encouraging Islamic studies here, the Crown itself, through the Lord Almoner's office, supplied the second endowment, a Readership or Professorship in Arabic established by Royal Warrant in August, 1715, and extinguished, alas! by the Royal Commission of 1904. So for two hundred years this university was in the remarkably fortunate position of having two professors of Arabic; and many distinguished scholars occupied those Chairs during that long time. I will not detain you with historical details, for I want to speak more of the present and the future than of the past; but it is all set out, though briefly, in my Inaugural Lecture, *The Cambridge School of Arabic*. I will only touch now upon a few names. Edmund Castell, Adams's Professor from 1666 to 1685, was author of a massive lexicon in seven languages upon the printing of which he spent his personal fortune of £12,000; he found himself a year after his election in prison for a debt of £1,800 incurred to this same end. To prison for debt also went Simon Ockley, Professor from 1712 to 1720, whose *History of the Saracens* earned the high admiration of Gibbon and is repeatedly quoted by him in his *Decline and Fall*. Joseph Carlyle, occupant of the Adams Chair from 1795 to 1804, published the first English anthology of Arabic verse, his *Specimens of Arabian Poetry*, which still makes pleasant reading and had quite a vogue in its day. William

Wright, this country's greatest Arabic grammarian, was Sir Thomas Adams's Professor from 1870 to 1889. His first colleague in the Lord Almoner's Chair, Edward Henry Palmer, whose portrait in Arab dress is to be seen in St. John's College, is the only Cambridge Arabist buried in St. Paul's; he was a brilliant and versatile linguist, of whom I shall have more to say later. His second colleague, William Robertson Smith, was one of the founders of Semitic sociology. Palmer taught Arabic to Edward Granville Browne of Pembroke, that great scholar of Persian and champion of Persian democracy and independence, whose death in 1926 was mourned in a special session of the Persian parliament. Robertson Smith was the teacher of R. A. Nicholson, my own beloved friend and master, whose great services to Islamic learning were commemorated but a few short years ago in many countries. These are some only of the professional scholars whose devoted labours won for Cambridge her enviable renown as the foremost centre of Arabic studies in this country. Nor can we leave unmentioned the name of another Cambridge man, no scholar in the narrow, scientific meaning of the word, but one who did more than any other to "spread the influence" of Persian thought and poetry "among the general public of Great Britain." Edward FitzGerald was a Trinity man; and though it is true we must concede to Oxford the honour of having introduced him to Omar Khayyâm, for it was in the Bodleian that he read that famous manuscript whose glory has at last been dimmed by a recent Cambridge acquisition, we in Cambridge still have the right to claim him as our own, and to remember him whenever we think of our oriental past.

Most of our Cambridge Arabists approached Arabic rather as a sister to Hebrew in the Semitic family of languages, and less as the parent of Islamic culture; to Hebrew belongs one of the foundation Regius Chairs of this university, and it was therefore only natural that the place of Arabic should be felt from the beginning to be on the same

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platform, perhaps a little further up-stage. So indeed Ockley frankly regarded it, and when in his *Introductio ad linguas orientales* he sought to assess the value of Arabic, the first two points he made were that it was of importance in throwing light on problems of Hebrew lexicography and in assisting the study of Jewish philosophy. Nevertheless Persian was not neglected; Edmund Castell, our second Arabic professor, felt himself sufficiently qualified in the language to write a Persian panegyric in celebration of the restoration of Charles II to the British throne. E. H. Palmer was an extremely good Persian scholar, and is said to have translated Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* into Persian verse; he composed in the language most fluently, in both prose and poetry. Palmer was also an extremely ready writer of Urdu; he was a frequent and elegant correspondent to the *Akhbar* in that language, and among many public occasions which he celebrated in Urdu verse was the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh. In the last years of the nineteenth century both Persian and Urdu were taught in this university; Urdu was the first oriental language that R. A. Nicholson knew well. As for Turkish, although that tongue appears never to have been made the subject of instruction here, it is well known that it was E. G. Browne's first introduction to Islamic studies. But it was not until the beginning of the present century that any regular provision was made for a post in Persian, while Turkish and Urdu never enjoyed that advantage. Only finance was lacking; the cause of these languages was constantly advocated; and there can be no doubt—indeed, the point is obvious enough in the light of what I have said—that had Turkish and Urdu been endowed in this university, even to a fraction of the extent to which Arabic was endowed, the record of this country in Turkish and Urdu scholarship would have been worthier her position in the world.

I now come to the year 1945, when the Scarbrough Commission was about to begin its labours. In Cambridge, to cover the

whole vast extent of Islamic studies, there existed two posts, the Sir Thomas Adams's Chair of Arabic, and a Lectureship in Persian. The holders of these two posts were expected to provide all the undergraduate and post-graduate teaching in these subjects, and at the same time to undertake those individual tasks of research without which all teaching lacks inspiration. And here I venture to make a remark upon undergraduate teaching which ought to be obvious, but is often disregarded: whether the classes to be taught consist of two or twenty or two hundred students, the labour and time consumed are exactly the same. When in any given years there were candidates simultaneously for Part II and Part I of the Tripos and for the Preliminary Examination, these two teachers were called upon to provide as much instruction as is normally shared, in larger and more popular faculties, by anything up to a dozen lecturers or more. That is the most serious and disabling handicap under which Islamic studies in Cambridge have laboured, as a result of catastrophic under-endowment; and although it is outside the scope of my present theme to add this, candour compels me to remark that the position of Indian and Chinese studies was even more precarious. These deplorable circumstances naturally had their effect upon undergraduate interest in the subject; for with so small prospect of a career in Islamic studies, the national position being a fair reflection of our own here, it was scarcely to be expected that students would come in great numbers to attempt labours so difficult and unrewarding. Nevertheless the flame of scholarly adventure is not so easily extinguished; through all these bleak years there has been a steady succession of candidates for honours in Arabic and Persian, many of them very able, few, alas! fortunate enough to make Islamic studies their life work.

Cambridge has received a share, a very modest share, of the considerable grants for oriental studies made as a consequence of the Scarbrough Report; of that share my own Islamic department has been allotted its

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very modest slice. We have been able to strengthen our teaching by converting the Persian lectureship, later a readership, into a professorship, thus blotting out the infamous memory of the suppression of the Lord Almoner's Chair. We have added lectureships in Arabic and Islamic history, and hope shortly to appoint a lecturer in Persian. We also enjoy the services of an Arabic lector and a Persian lector. Long ago, when E. G. Browne was alive and before the School of Oriental Studies was founded, when recruits to the Levant Consular Service were sent to Cambridge for their first training in language, the university was never without Arabs, Persians and Turks to assist in this training; remarkable men they were, some of them later rising to high positions in their own countries. One of them died here in Cambridge, and his funeral service, according to Muslim rites, was said in the cloisters of Wren's chapel in Pembroke; an occasion referred to by Dr. A. J. Mason, Master of that College, in his sonnet on the cloisters:

I bade them bring a dead man there, a child
Of Hagar. Mecca-ward his feet were laid.
Imâms in plaintive chant their Koran read,
And Moslems in close rank to Allah pray'd
With swaying bodies and with low-bow'd head.
From Abraham's bosom Wren look'd on, I trust,
and smiled.

And now once more our students of Arabic and Persian are able to hear the languages spoken as they should be spoken, and see them written as they ought to be written. It is a great step forward, or rather it is a vital position recovered. During this same brief period we have had a small but encouraging increase in the number of students reading for the Tripos and the Diploma, and a very substantial enlargement of our post-graduate school. I think it not too optimistic to say that the portents are reasonably hopeful.

Before prophesying upon what I think the future may hold for Islamic studies in Cambridge, it will not be inappropriate to make a few general remarks on the problem of teaching oriental languages to under-

graduates. It will be readily realized that our students have in the great majority of cases to start from scratch. Oriental languages do not feature in the curricula of any of our schools, and it is hardly to be expected that they ever will. With so many other subjects, alike well-established and new-fangled, jostling for inclusion in the school-boy's daily round, it is not surprising that even the most elementary instruction on Eastern civilizations should be elbowed out. Who would be so rash as to suggest that Siamese art is more important than psychology, or Sinology more educational than civics? Since the B.B.C., that sinister competitor with the cinema, boy scouts, discussion groups and homework, is itself so distracted by the multitudinous claims and maddening clamour of other viewpoints to be heard, rarely indeed will the loud-speaker carry into the British home the wit or wisdom of the East. Cambridge undergraduates are not exceptional in their unawareness of Asia. So we are presented with what Socrates would have most eagerly welcomed, a *tabula rasa*: with what are we to fill it, and how?

The problem is even a little more complicated than this. If the undergraduate elects as a freshman to read for the Oriental Languages Tripos, he has a prospect of three clear years in which to accomplish his ambition. But freshmen never do so choose, or very rarely; because our best students are drawn from the cadre of college scholars and exhibitioners, and colleges do not offer scholarships and exhibitions for proficiency, much less promise of proficiency (for proficiency does not exist) in oriental languages. It is not considered tactful for a freshman elected to a scholarship in say Classics or Modern Languages to suggest, even if it occurred to him to suggest, to his tutor that he should do otherwise than read for at least Part I of the Tripos in the subject for which he secured his award. In most instances, therefore, our students in the oriental faculty have already completed two years of residence, and will only come to us, and then only to read Part I, if they

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feel reasonably assured of being able to stay up two more years. It has very exceptionally happened—twice I think in this century—that a student in two years has taken both Part I and Part II of the Oriental Languages Tripos offering Arabic and Persian. Since most undergraduates nowadays are compelled by dire economic circumstances to earn a living at the earliest possible date, the idea of spending a fourth year in further studies, attractive as it may look in theory, is not very interesting in practice, or was not until the Scarbrough Report came to the rescue with its post-graduate studentships and inviting ladder of promotion. So there are many obstacles to be overcome, almost as many and difficult as those at Aintree, before we can attract into our oriental courses the kind of runners we would like. However, what they lack in numbers they more than make up for in keenness and stamina.

These, then, are our candidates, converts usually from Classics and Modern Languages, usually, I am thankful to say, men or women who have already obtained a first class in Part I of their triposes. But for these exceptionally favourable circumstances our task might well seem hopeless; but the material upon which we are to work is of excellent quality, already trained to the idea that other people talk other ways. Our predecessors, who had the same problem to tackle, transmitted to us the solution which they reached by deep and careful thought, a solution which has stood up extremely well to the test of time. They decided, surely rightly, that the only sound foundation upon which Islamic scholarship may rest is a thorough grounding in Islamic philology. One language only seemed to them too few, and three too many, for the student to wrestle with in two or three years; they therefore invented their Cambridge system of two languages, taken to an equal standard; and those languages, owing to a variety of contributory factors, were Arabic and Persian. Arabic might for its part still be taken in combination with Hebrew, by those whose bent was towards Semitic philology. Theoret-

ically there has never been any reason why Arabic, or Persian, might not be combined with any other oriental language; indeed, a contemporary of mine, an ingenious Spaniard, read Arabic with Sanskrit, and became an authority on the history of chess. But the favourite pair has been Arabic and Persian; and their combined study has proved a very valuable introduction to the broader view of Islamic history and culture which only mature scholarship can attain.

Because the Scarbrough Report laid so much emphasis on the desirability of breaking out of what is sometimes called the narrow philological approach to oriental studies, in order to include in the learner's curriculum the so-named background subjects, I think it is worth while to dwell a little longer on the complexities of the problem we teachers of oriental languages have to face. Let me pose a broadly similar dilemma. Let us imagine that Greek and Latin were not taught in our schools, and that Classics were to be taught in our universities under this handicap. Let us suppose, in order to perfect the comparison, that the undergraduates reading Classics were very few, on account of the limiting factors already mentioned, and that these had little prospect of a career save in academic or nearly related work; always allowing for a certain wastage into public administration and business, that wastage not being very serious because Whitehall and the City had little use for Classics. How would our teachers of Classics in the universities set about their unequal labour of preparing keen and able students to be Classical scholars in three or two years? I dare say they would think that the most important thing was to teach them Greek and Latin. Unless I completely misjudge their judgment—and I was once a Classic myself—I believe they would say that it was a frivolous waste of time for undergraduates to attend lectures on Greek philosophy or Roman politics, if to do so prevented them from mastering the languages they needed in the time available. That at least, so far as I can vouch for it,

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would be the Cambridge answer; I cannot speak for Oxford, but I respect the Classical traditions of that university sufficiently to believe that Oxford would agree with Cambridge in this. So it is not narrow pedantry, but dire pedagogical necessity, that has persuaded our great teachers of the past that in oriental studies, as elsewhere, first things come first; and first things, in this case, means a sound knowledge of language.

Nor should it be supposed, because philology has been made the principal element in our teaching here, that our students have been left in total ignorance of the much-advocated background subjects. In order to teach the elements of a language it is convenient to specify select texts for detailed study; and much skill can be exercised, and has been exercised, in selecting the texts which, within the time available, will secure the proper philological foundation and simultaneously introduce the student to the main features of literature, history and thought. Background studies may in this way be regarded, not as ends in themselves, but as corollary means to the mastery of language. There is obviously much room for very careful thought in the designing of a syllabus, in order to achieve a due balance between grammar, syntax and lexicography on the one hand, and the wider aspects of civilization on the other. The problem is not so very much unlike that confronting the housewife in the days of "pointed" foods: in both instances the quest is for a rationally adjusted diet.

I turn now to a wider question. So far we have been considering the method of teaching; let us now look a little while at its ultimate aim. Of all the terms used by educational theorists, I find the word "discipline" to be the most tiresome, perhaps because it is also the most hackneyed. The question now to be debated is whether Islamic studies, as they have been conducted here in Cambridge, constitute a satisfactory discipline: I cannot avoid using the hateful term. That is the brief way of putting the matter; more broadly argued, we are asked

to state whether the study of Islamic civilization for three or two years, within the limits fixed, is a sufficient training of the mind and spirit to allow the undergraduate who has successfully mastered the course to be considered well educated. That definition of the question of course begs a whole host of other questions, such as "educated for what?"; but it would take far too long to attempt an answer to those secondary problems, and in any event they arise in the discussion of any discipline whatsoever.

This main question, whether Islamic studies constitute a reasonable discipline, can be answered at great length, and it can also be dismissed inadequately but briefly. In all the circumstances you will hardly wish me to attempt the former, and may excuse me if I take refuge in the latter alternative. The answer is quite clear, when we look at the extent and quality of Islamic civilization, and its relevance and relation to other matters which are the common constituents of a good general school education. Islam touches Christendom at so many points, the history of the Muslim peoples has been so inextricably mixed up with the history of Europe, the content of Islamic thought is so little dissimilar fundamentally to that of the West, that the undergraduate who reads Arabic and Persian does not need to think himself transported to another planet, and is singularly insensitive if he does not feel that he is engaged in the study of humanity or in humane studies. The whole thing hangs on, as the Americans would say, and hangs together. Baghdad under the Caliphate is as interesting and as satisfying an instrument of educational discipline as the Athens of Pericles and the Rome of Augustus Cæsar. At one time it would have been thought very nearly sacrilegious to make that statement; I am sanguine enough to believe that today, with the wider view of world history now taken by more and more people, the statement is as unexciting and uncontroversial as the assertion that the earth is round, a thesis once extremely perilous to propose in public.

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Now finally to peer into the future. Here we are at once confronted by an unusually large number of "ifs." I am personally not so satisfied with things as they are, though always astounded at what has been accomplished by our forerunners in such adverse circumstances, as to think rashly that there is no room for improvement. But substantial improvement cannot take place, either in the quantity and quality of our undergraduate teaching, or in the range and detail of our research, without still further funds being earmarked for our Islamic department. It is most desirable that Turkish and Urdu should be regularly taught in the university. The case for these languages was argued long ago by E. G. Browne with characteristic vigour; indeed it is not generally remembered that in the very early years of this century he canvassed the university, without success, urging the establishment here of a school of living oriental languages: fate determined that his dream should be realized elsewhere, but it remains academically interesting to speculate whether London or Cambridge would have made the better site for an oriental workshop. It is little short of amazing, when we think of the importance and interest of Ottoman history and Indian Islam, that these languages, Turkish and Urdu, are totally unrepresented in this university. The principle of establishing lectureships in them both has, I am gratified to say, already been conceded; it only—only—remains to secure the financial provision.

We have already added Islamic history to our teaching strength: it is our hope, subject to all the "ifs" imaginable, to provide successively for Islamic theology and philosophy, Islamic law and institutions, and Islamic archæology and art. Lectureships in these subjects, if established, would enable us very considerably to improve the quality of our undergraduate and post-graduate teaching, for we would be able to confront our students with specialists in these important fields; and specialization in Islamic studies has now reached such a point, that no scholar, however gifted or industrious, can

hope any more to have a worthwhile view on more than a limited range of topics. Since it is no unworthy ambition that our students in the future should leave this place better equipped than we did in the past, it is surely not unreasonable that we should seek the means of achieving that end.

So much for building up our teaching and researching strength within the Islamic department itself. It goes without saying that we shall also be able usefully to spend any money we can get upon improving our libraries in the university. Our Arabic and Persian collections are fairly good, though far from perfect; in Turkish and Urdu we have lamentably little, and have to build practically from the ground up. The Fitzwilliam Museum contains a number of valuable and beautiful examples of Islamic art; but if this subject is ever to be taught here we could do with a representative teaching collection, which need not be prohibitively expensive. For the present, and for perhaps many years to come, it will be prudent for us to think of our Islamic department as a branch—let us hope a very healthy and lusty branch—firmly set upon the trunk of our Oriental Institute. But perhaps the time may come, though the hope is almost too fanciful to be entertained, when Cambridge will have its own separate Islamic Institute; not so spacious and expensive, certainly, as those laboratories in which vitamins were first discovered, or the atom was first split, but let us say a modest memorial to what Cambridge has accomplished, and will accomplish, in the vast and fertile field of Islamic studies.

That is a very distant dream, possibly to be realized by some remote successor of mine in the Sir Thomas Adams's Chair. But there is also a nearer fancy which, though not greatly contingent upon finance, may prove upon closer examination to be very difficult to capture. There is no denying that Islamic studies are not in any sense popular in the university; our undergraduate patrons are very select rather than very numerous. We can reasonably look for a steady and perhaps slowly increasing

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stream of students, thanks in the main to the outcome of the Scarbrough Report, provided always that the axe of national retrenchment does not fall upon that still rather frail and tender tree. But we are not disposed to be contented with remaining on the periphery of academic life, if we can win a way closer to its centre. If the undergraduates will not come to us because we seem to be so far away from the focus of their interests, we must contrive to go to them and prove that we are not after all so very remote.

This may be attempted in a number of different ways, all calling for skilful strategy; and it is a very rash general who discloses all his plans of battle in advance of the engagement, even to his allies. I will therefore merely observe, as enigmatically as I can contrive, that Arabic is still spoken and written all along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, the northern coasts of which echo to the sound of such familiar and unexotic languages as Spanish, French and Italian; that the Arabs fought in the

Crusades as well as the Franks; that the Turks once penetrated as far west as Vienna; that Islamic philosophy and science form the bridge between Aristotle and Descartes, Archimedes and Newton; that Islam is very close in many aspects of doctrine and ritual to Christianity and Judaism; that Islamic law is paramount in many parts of the British Commonwealth; that the study of mediaeval and renaissance architecture and art is incomplete without at least a passing glance at what the Saracens created—that, in short, the legacy of Islam to modern Europe is very much greater than is generally supposed, and the heirs to that legacy ought in common decency to learn a little about who these particular benefactors were. Even if in our specialist studies we must still not look for more than a few enthusiastic campaigners, there is no reason why we should not gather around us a fair array of camp followers. And, who knows, perhaps some of those camp followers may in time venture themselves into the line of battle.

SOME NEW TEXTILE ACQUISITIONS AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

By JOHN IRWIN

DURING the last few years the textile collection at the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, has been enriched by several Mughal pieces of outstanding quality. As some of them, hitherto unpublished, are of special importance to the history of Mughal textiles, a short note in *ART AND LETTERS* is perhaps appropriate.

Of particular interest are the two velvet floor spreads shown in Plates 1 and 2, both purchased in 1947. Mughal velvets are extremely rare, and it has even been questioned whether velvet of the best quality was woven at all in India, the

assumption being that court needs were supplied from Persia. There are many references to Indian velvet in the early seventeenth-century manuscript records of the East India Company, especially in connection with the Ahmedabad factory, but the indications are that it was of an inferior quality, not to be compared with the velvets exported from Europe during the same period.¹

The two pieces reproduced here are in a different category to the ordinary trade velvets. They were almost certainly produced in one of the court workshops (*khar-khanas*) instituted by Akbar towards the

SOME NEW TEXTILE ACQUISITIONS AT THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

close of the sixteenth century, where Indian and Persian craftsmen collaborated.¹ The example in Plate 1 represents the first phase in the development of Mughal design, a phase when it was so imitative of Persian prototypes as to be easily mistaken for Persian in origin. This particular example is all the more interesting in view of the fact that its exact Persian prototype also survives and has been reproduced by Reath and Sachs (*Persian Textiles*, plate 78). As far as the design in the field is concerned, with its symmetrical floral stem set within a lobed compartment with hanging bunches of grapes, the details are identical. The only difference is in the treatment of the continuous floral stem in the borders, which is here more naturalistic and less of a formula, betraying to the experienced eye a subtle difference of rhythm that is unmistakably Indian.

The second velvet (Plate 2), in comparison, marks the advance of Mughal craftsmanship by at least a generation and perhaps more. The Persian debt is still obvious, particularly in the choice of motives; yet even more striking are the new and distinctive Mughal features, such as the bolder outline and the more detailed naturalism.

The embroidered coat in Plate 3 is perhaps the work of a Persian in Jahangir's service. The design is of a purely Persian type, and without the evidence of the colours there is little to suggest that it was embroidered in India. It is interesting to compare this piece with the later chain-stitch embroidery in Plate 4, which is unmistakably Mughal in style, the design being closely related to the floral designs on the seventeenth-century tilework at Lahore.

The other pieces illustrated are all painted

cottons; and although work of this kind must have been commonly seen in Mughal court circles, it is perhaps not strictly Mughal in origin. Contemporary accounts leave little doubt that the best painted cottons of the seventeenth century came from Golconda or the Coromandel Coast;² and although there were many centres of cotton painting in the north (in particular, Ahmedabad, Sironj and Burhanpur), they appear to have specialized mainly in the cheaper grades. This helps to explain why, by the second half of the century, the laborious painting technique had been almost entirely given up in the north in favour of block-printing.

The outline of the design was first drawn on paper and then stencilled. It was transferred to the cloth by the simple process of pouncing with charcoal, the actual colours being applied free-hand with skilful use of wax-resist and various mordants. The resultant effect is a subtlety of colouring and a sensitivity of line never achieved by printing methods.

Plates 5 and 6 show details of hand-painted girdles (*patkas*), which were among the most fancied articles of costume throughout the Mughal period. The museum is fortunate in now possessing a very rich collection of these girdles, the only other comparable collection being that of Diwan Bahadur R. K. Jalan at Patna.

The hand-painted floor-spread in Plate 7 is characteristic Golconda work of the seventeenth century, which was esteemed throughout India and also in Persia. It was probably work of this kind to which Sir Thomas Herbert referred when, in his description of Shiraz, he wrote: ". . . and upon the carpets were spread fine coloured pintado table-cloths, forty ells long."

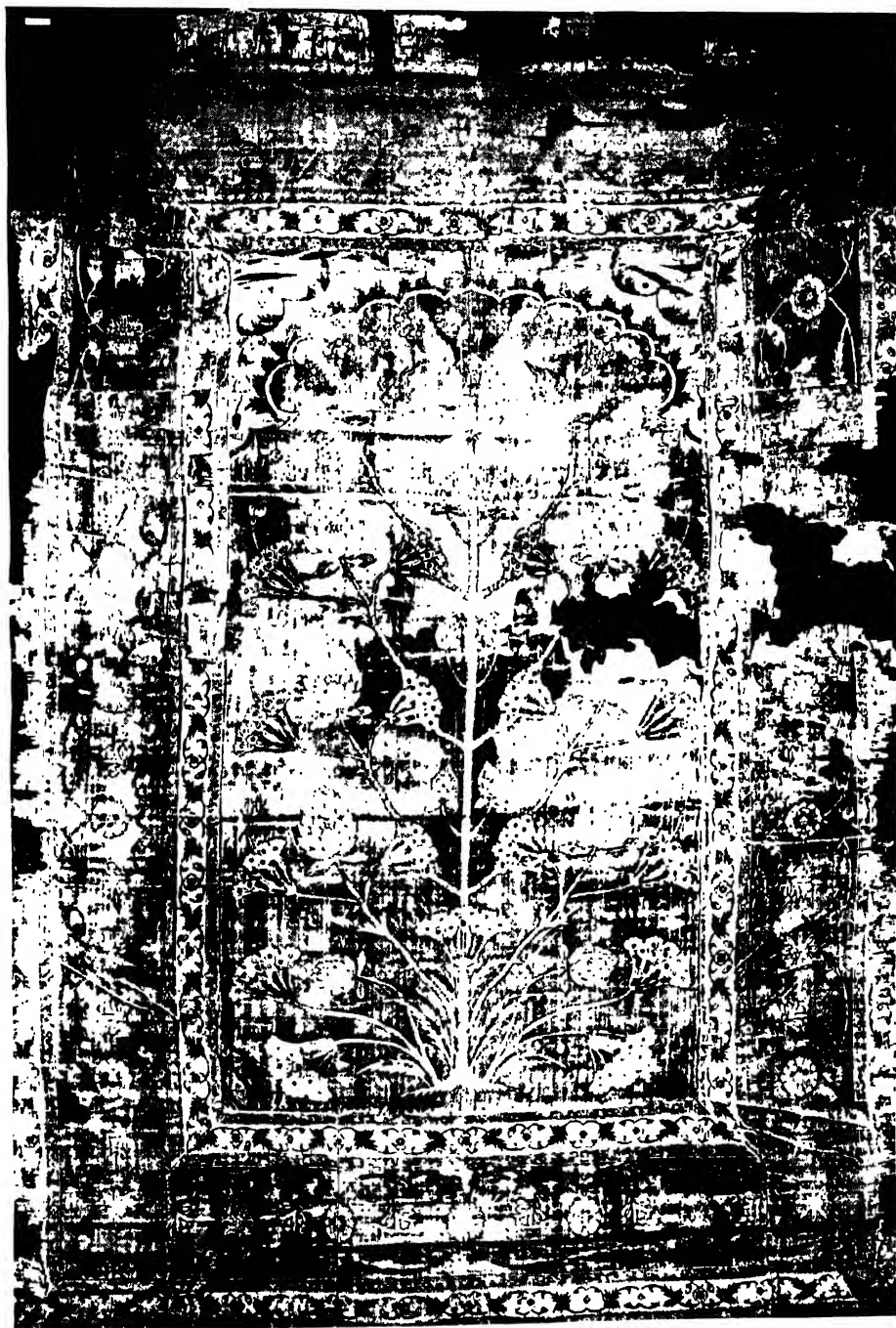
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¹ In 1614 many velvet carpets and coverlets were sold at the Company's London auctions (*Court Book III, India Office Records*, especially folios 150 and 325-6), but these were probably of Chinese origin. Their descriptions correspond closely to those seen

by Captain Saris at Bantam the previous year, having been brought there by "juncles from China" (*The Voyage of Saris*, Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 216).

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 31 (Blochmann, pp. 87-8).

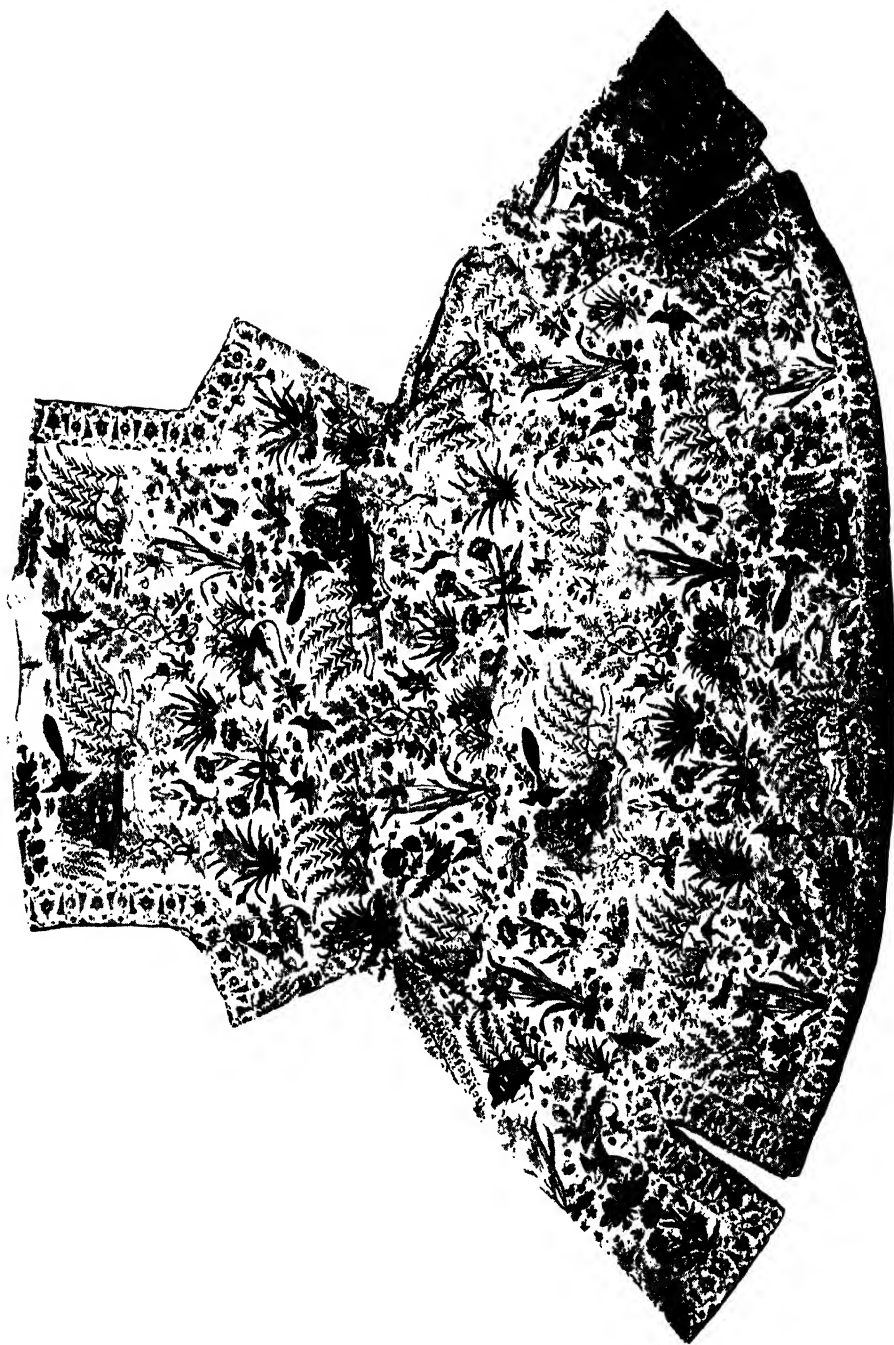
³ Tavernier: *Travels*, bk. ii, ch. 12.



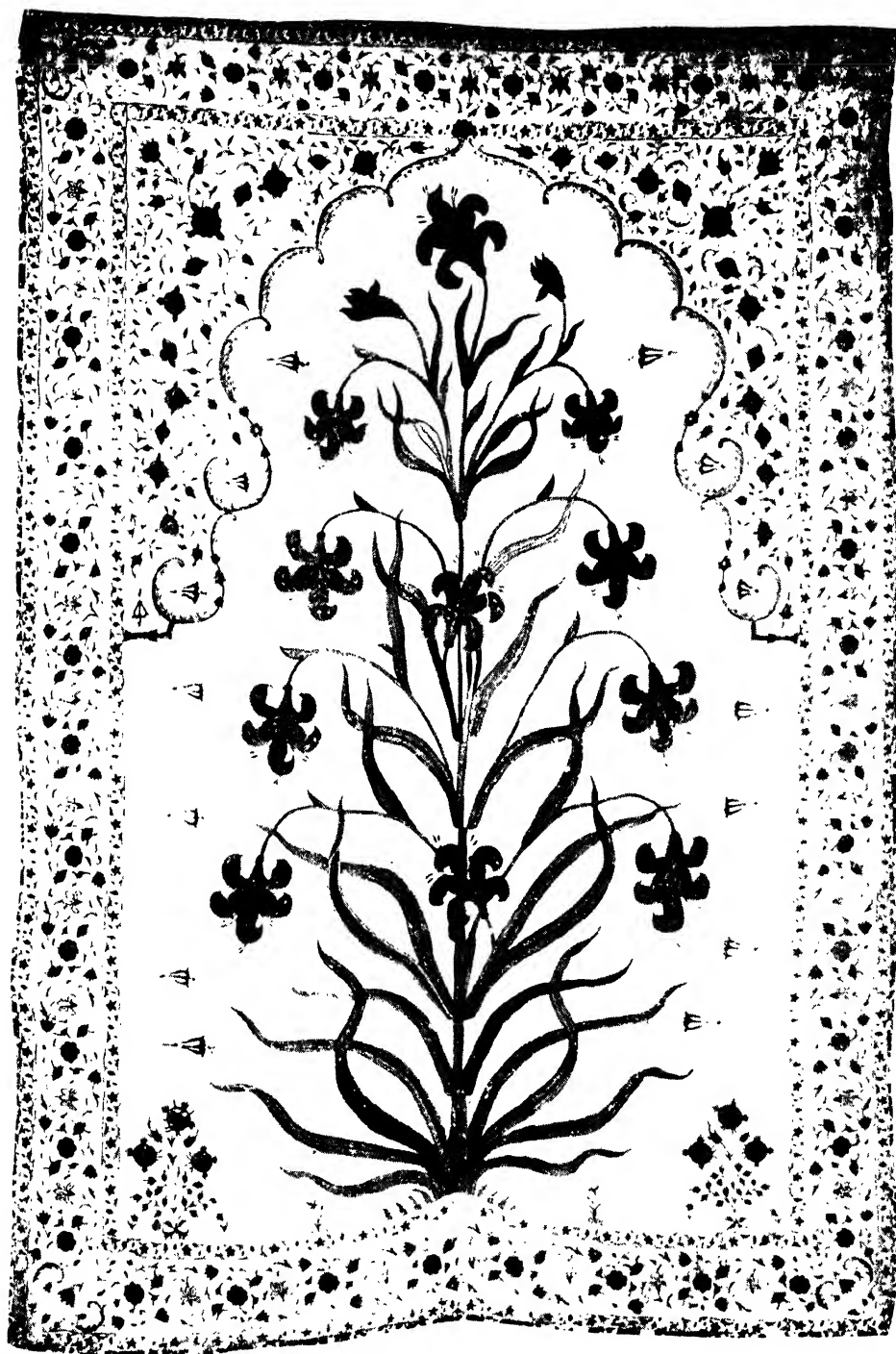
FLOOR SPREAD; HAND-PAINTED COTTON
Golconda, seventeenth century.



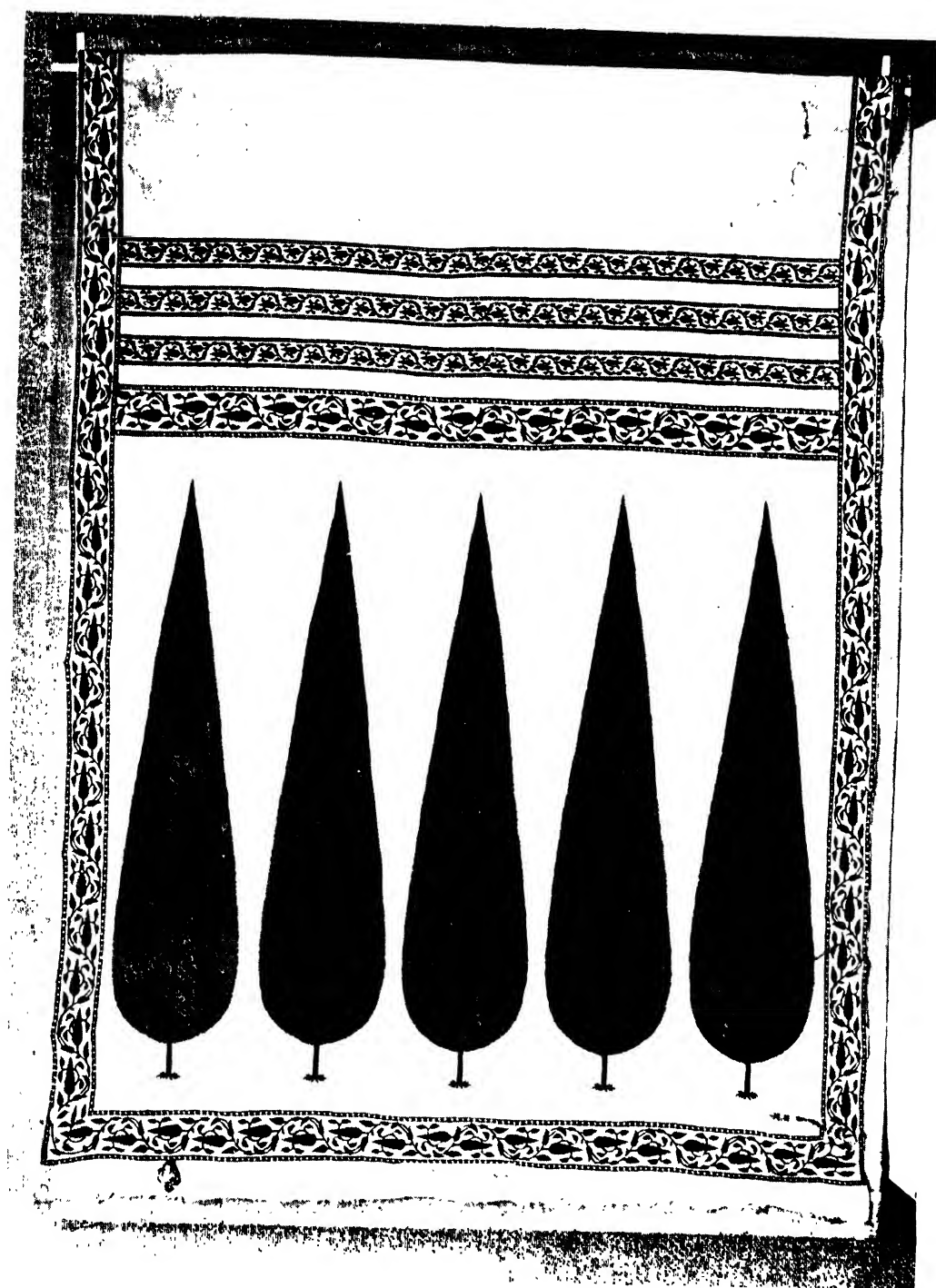
FLOOR SPREAD: EMBROIDERED VELVET
Mughal, mid-seventeenth century.



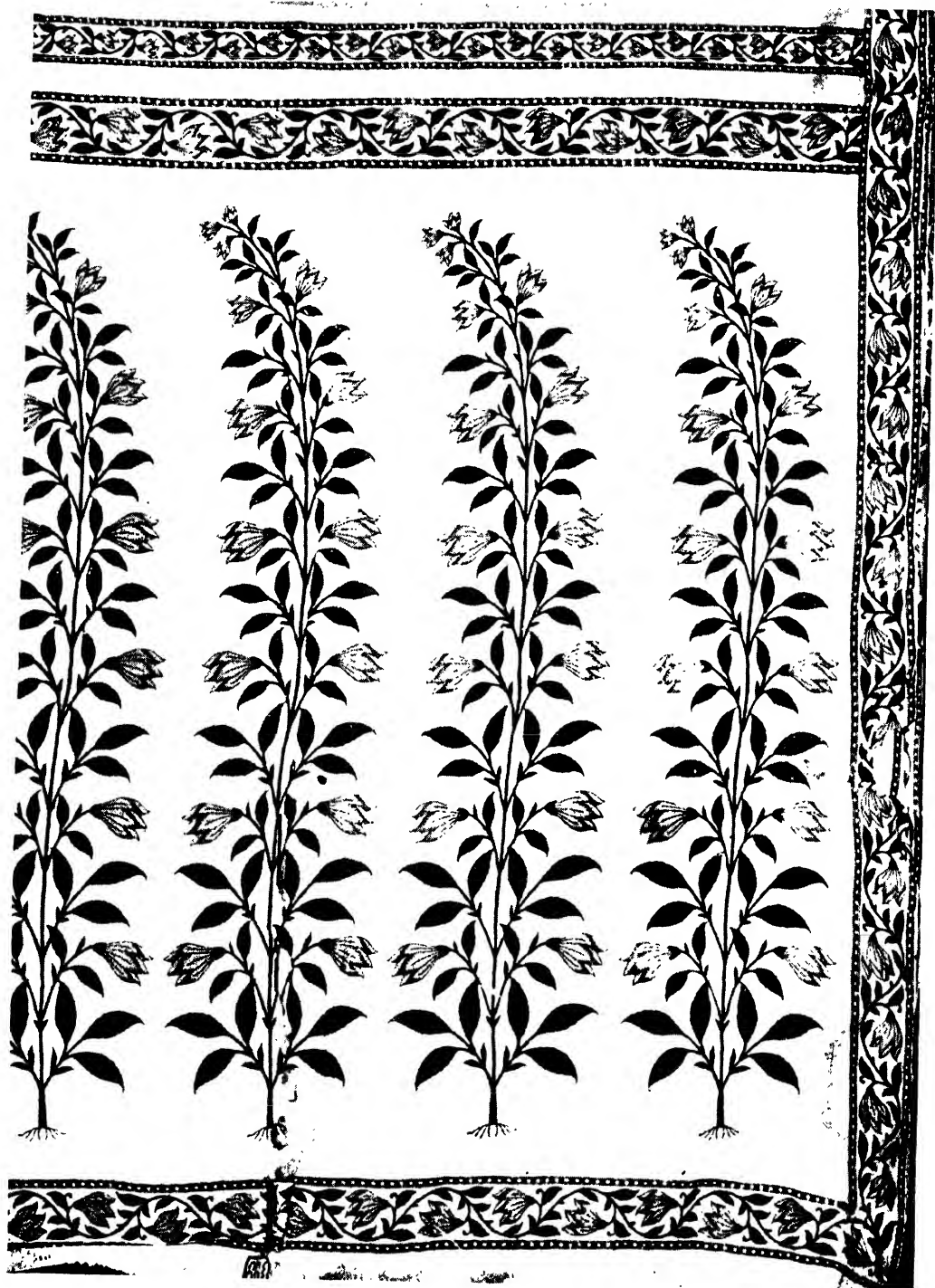
COAT: SATIN, EMBROIDERED WITH SILKS
Mughal, seventeenth century.



PRAYER MAT: COTTON, EMBROIDERED WITH SILKS
Mughal, circa 1700.



COURT GIRDLE (PATKA), COTTON, STENCILLED AND HAND-PAINTED
Golconda, seventeenth century.



COURT GIRDLE (PATKA), COTTON, STENCILLED AND HAND-PAINTED
Golconda, seventeenth century.



FLOOR SPREAD: HAND-PAINTED COTTON
Golconda, seventeenth century.

ASPECTS OF INDIAN STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN¹

By S. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.

IT is a great pleasure and special privilege of mine to avail myself of the invitation of the Royal India and Pakistan Society through its Hon. Secretary, Mr. Richter, to address today such a distinguished gathering at Cambridge whose name is traditionally associated with humane studies. As this Society has from its very inception stood for the culture of India, and the Summer School is designed to contribute to that end, I propose to limit myself to the realm of cultural progress of Indian studies in this country.

Indeed I consider the time to be quite opportune to take a retrospective bird's-eye view of those activities in the field of Indian studies in this country which, at the moment, are charged with a reassuringly fresh air of renaissance, thanks to the Report of the Scarbrough Commission and its immediate implementation by the Government of the United Kingdom. Such taking of stock would, I believe, reveal unbroken continuity and strength of Indian studies and would thus stimulate and sustain new hopes and aspirations cherished by many for the most brilliant future of Indian studies in the national life of the United Kingdom.

To examine Indo-British culture contact I deem it necessary to state certain basic facts which, in my opinion, hold good in culture contact in general. Culture, it appears to me, is a dynamic way of life, at the bottom of which lies invention. Invention or discovery, in the vast majority of cases, is achieved by individuals—geniuses—who are as basic to all invention as invention is to cultural change. Culture develops by the slow but steady accumulation of new inventions by individuals in their creative moments and by the diffusion of such inventions to others, their imitators. This process of diffu-

sion may have to overcome the adverse reaction of the people in which the change is intended to be introduced before it is allowed to soak into the subsoil of the existing culture-pattern. This is the process of "cross-fertilization," as the Scarbrough Report calls it. We shall revert to this point in the sequel.

The outstanding phenomenon in the history of British impact on India is the momentous minute of Lord Macaulay of 1835, which recommended English education, in place of indigenous scholarship, as the policy of the British Government in India. The adoption of this policy by the then Government of India has evoked censure in many quarters in India and also in this country. I sometimes feel tempted to join that chorus for more private reasons, viz., Macaulay's intransigence with the Bengalees, my compatriots. J. Ramsay MacDonald was satisfied to find that "we have succeeded only too well in establishing an intellectual chaos." But, to evaluate Macaulay's report, I would like to remark that he was a typical product of the Victorian age so aptly described by the special correspondent of *The Times* June 24 last in the following words: "England in 1850 was a land of great comparative wealth, armed with a navy universally thought to be invincible: her inhabitants were filled with a sense of what Roebuck was not ashamed on the floor of the House to call 'immeasurable superiority' which a century later we shall call conceit." The early effect of English education may not have been altogether salutary to the Indian mind. In *Modern India* Monier Williams observes that "this sort of education is, in some cases, better than nothing, but too often it inflates young men with conceit, unhinges their faith in their own

¹ Paper read at the Summer School of the Society at Cambridge, July, 1950.

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religion without giving them any other, leads them to despise the calling of their fathers, and to look upon knowledge as a mere stepping-stone to Government situations which they cannot all obtain."

It cannot be denied, however, that British impact on India produced, as time went on, an age of renaissance in different spheres, social, religious and literary, thanks to the enthusiasm of Lord Macaulay. Raja Rammohan Roy, that great Bengali Brahmin, did the ploughman's work where Macaulay's policy was sown. Since the independence of India in 1947 that new vitality in different spheres of Indian life, brought about by British impact, is being harnessed in a way compatible with her highest ideals.

Since Pavlov's dog reacted differently to varying stimuli we are becoming more and more apt to attribute animal behaviour to a vast body of human reactions. The Europeans came in contact with Gujarāṭi and Bengali as early as A.D. 1600, and Abraham Roger, a Dutchman, opened the door to hidden heathenism when he wrote *Open Door to Hidden Heathenism* in 1651. Stevens (1549-1619) was the first Englishman to study an Indian language—Konkani, a dialect of Marāṭhī. In 1772 George Hadley composed the first grammar of Hindustānī, with which he does not seem to have had a very "good time," as the title of the book, *The Grammar of the Jargon of Hindustan*, indicates. This was followed by *Code of Gentoo Law* (The Law of Manu), by Halhead, published in London in 1776. These early attempts on the part of the Europeans reveal a sense of bewilderment at things alien to them, as they disclose their direct contact with Indian vernaculars prior to their introduction to classical language.

Vague curiosity which had been roused by everyday necessity eventually gave place to scholarship. Three servants of the East India Company, Sir William Jones (1746-94), Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1836) and H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1836), will be perpetually enshrined in the memory of the Oriental world as pioneers whose genius clothed Indian studies with the new dignity of a

worthy pursuit. They gave equal value to the culture of India and her languages. Jones's translations of Śakuntalā and Rtusamhāra of Kālidāsa and of the code of Manu show his literary interest, as his establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 bears testimony to his linguistic attraction. It was Jones, again, who first gave Sanskrit its due when he remarked that "the Sanskrit language, whatever its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either. "It was he, again, who with a prophetic vision had discovered the close affinity between Greek and Latin on the one hand and Sanskrit on the other. And here is a self-assessment of the merit of his work:

Give me (thus my high pride I raise)
The ploughman or the Gardener's praise
With patient and unceasing toil
To meliorate a stubborn soil
And say (no higher need I ask)
With zeal hast thou performed thy task.

The opinion of posterity is too well known to deserve any specific mention. He ploughed the field from which we shall be reaping the harvest for all time to come.

Though Jones had done the ploughman's work, Wilkins is said to be the first to understand Sanskrit, and is described as the "morning star of Oriental lore." From Bengali and Persian he eventually came upon Sanskrit. He translated the Bhagavad-Gītā, Hitopadeśa, and composed a Sanskrit grammar. He was the first librarian at the East India Company's Library in London, which was opened early in the nineteenth century, and also worked as a visiting professor to Haileybury College.

Colebrooke carried the tradition of Jones further into the field of scholarship. He is recognized as the father of modern philology and archæology. In connection with the organization of the Benares Sanskrit college he came in direct contact with the Benares pundits, from whom he imbibed deeper understanding and wider interest in Sanskrit learning. He was a prolific writer on philosophy, religion, grammar and astrology, but his *Digest of Hindu Law* on contract and

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succession (four volumes) is a monumental work. In London his notable activity was to found the Royal Asiatic Society as early as 1823—one of the earliest Oriental organisations in Europe. Jones, Wilkins and Colebrooke are thus the first geniuses to discover India—the glories of her hidden heathenism.

In order to follow up the course of Indian studies in the United Kingdom it is now desirable to mention a few continental scholars. The nineteenth century witnessed how Indian studies fired their imagination, leading up to the establishment of various schools of Sanskrit scholarship. But all this happened, as in the case of the pioneers mentioned above, by a mere freak of chance. Who could imagine that Alexander Hamilton, a clerk of the East India Company, would put to shame the unbridled zeal of a football enthusiast by the act of his opening up a school for Sanskrit learning in the murky atmosphere of a prison cell in Paris, when he was taken prisoner-of-war in 1802? F. Schlegel, the German poet, and one of the leaders of the romantic movement in Germany, was a fellow prisoner and he carried the fire to Germany. Prodigies like Bopp raised the superstructure of Indian philology, the foundation of which was laid by Schlegel.

During the same period Duperron, a Frenchman, translated from Persian into Latin *Oupnek'hat* (the Upaniṣads) (Paris, 1801-2), which largely influenced Schelling and Schopenhauer. E. Burnouf, another Frenchman, was, however, the first to lay the foundation of Vedic scholarship, which found great enhancement in his students, Roth (1821-95), the founder of Vedic philology in Germany, and F. Max Muller (1823-1900). In Great Britain, Theodor Aufrecht (1822-1907), professor of Sanskrit at the University of Edinburgh, published for the first time the complete text of the Rig-Veda (1861-3). Burnouf was also the founder of Pāli, and this tradition was carried to better advantage by T. W. Rhys Davids, who founded the Pali Text Society in Ceylon in 1882. Weber produced the sacred writings of the Jains (1883 and 1885).

Indeed, from the mid-nineteenth century the enthusiasm and the equipment of a host of scholars opened up different vistas in the field of Indian scholarship. In archæology Cunningham Smith and McCrindle followed the footsteps of J. Prinsep (1799-1840). In historical research Wilson, Largent and Smith introduced a new era. William Chambers, Gladwell and that "grand old man" Sir George Grierson made stupendous progress in linguistic survey. In anthropology Sir George Campbell, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Sir Herbert Risley and Sir Alfred Lyall ushered in a new régime. James Fergusson produced two monumental volumes on architecture. And to crown all these G. Bühler of Vienna envisaged an encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan research—an intention which is again reflected in the Inaugural Speech of Prof. Bailey at Cambridge in 1938.

The impact of such widespread enthusiasm made itself felt at the university level. Sir William Jones was educated at the University College, Oxford, and so Oxford was the first to establish a Boden Professorship in Sanskrit in 1813, and H. H. Wilson (1786-1860), who had been inspired by Colebrooke, a disciple of Jones, was called upon to occupy it in 1833, the post, in the absence of a deserving man, having "hung fire" for twenty years. Wilson was also the successor of Wilkins at the India Office library in 1836. As the librarian of the India Office library he was also attached to the Haileybury College. Indeed, Wilson was a pluralist in more than one sense. From being a medical man he joined the technical staff of the Calcutta mint, eventually to take up the professorship in Sanskrit at Oxford. It is said that F. Johnson, the Haileybury professor of Sanskrit, Bengali and Telugu, knew more than Wilson, but the latter was the teacher of such prodigies as Monier Williams, Cowell and R. T. H. Griffith. In 1860 Monier Williams succeeded Wilson. He was the founder of the Indian Institute of Oxford in the year 1883. His two dictionaries, one from English to Sanskrit, the other from Sanskrit to English, are still looked upon as standard works. Macdonell (1854-1920),

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primarily a Vedic scholar; F. W. Thomas, a fine literary genius; E. H. Johnson, a philosopher; and the present incumbent, Prof. T. Burrow, mainly a philologist, have had the privilege of being associated with the Boden professorship. Further, Max Muller was appointed at the Chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford in the year 1838, and in 1939 Mr. Spalding, a devout soul, instituted a Chair of Comparative Religion and Ethics at Oxford, where Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has been the first incumbent.

London soon followed Oxford, and chairs for the teaching of oriental studies and history at the University College and the King's College existed as early as 1826. Goldstücker, the grammarian, was the first occupant. London also is not less glorious in having persons of eminence to fill in these chairs. Dr. Forbes, Rhys Davids, Bendall, Rapson, Dr. L. D. Barnett and Prof. Sir R. L. Turner are all associated with these chairs. Prof. J. Brough, the head of the Department of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, is enjoying one of the new professorships created under the Scarbrough Commission Report.

At the University of Edinburgh, John Muir (1810-82), an early student of the Vedas, founded a professorship of Sanskrit and comparative philology in 1862, and Aufrecht, whose name is largely remembered in connection with the catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., was the first to occupy the chair. Egging continued the work of Aufrecht, to be succeeded by Dr. A. B. Keith in 1915. Now Dr. Alan is keeping up the tradition and the professorship has been kept in abeyance.

At Cambridge E. B. Cowell (1826-1903), a student of Wilson, had been appointed as the first professor of Sanskrit in 1867, and he was succeeded by Bendall (1903), Rapson (1913) and Prof. H. W. Bailey (1938).

Finally, at Manchester the chair of Sanskrit was occupied by two eminent devotional souls—T. W. Rhys Davids (1843-1922) and J. N. Farquhar.

In consonance with the doctrine of *laissez-faire* so dear to the Victorians, various types of organizations cropped up touching upon

various aspects of Indian studies. Museums like the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (1852) and the British Museum provided materials for Indian art. Various libraries like the India Office library, Royal Asiatic Society library, Oriental Section of the British Museum, Cambridge University library, the Bodleian, the John Rylands library, and later on the India House library and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, have served as repositories of innumerable invaluable books and MSS. Among the learned organisations, the Royal Asiatic Society (1823), the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts (1869), the East India Association (1866), the Royal Empire Society, and in the present century the Royal India and Pakistan Society (1910) and the British Council (1935) and also the India League, are worth mentioning, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. In Lord Zetland's words (1942), "All honour was due to those societies who had endeavoured sporadically to inculcate in this country an interest in oriental culture and languages."

In spite of the incessant endeavours on the part of a few oriental scholars and the recognition of oriental learning in the major universities, and also the plenitude of materials in museums and libraries and the constant propaganda by the cultural organizations, Indian studies failed to appeal to "the Government, the academic circles, the undergraduates and their parents—in fact, the nation as a whole." The national indifference is expressed by Prof. Max Muller in 1949: "The love of science, the desire for distinction, are often too weak to overcome the *vis inertiae* and the longing for the rest and refinement, especially in the days of barbarism, of mental poverty and godlessness, while one finds no hearing for research, let alone the hope of starting anything useful." It should therefore evoke no wonder that, after all that was said and done by different cultural societies to propagate Indian art in this country, Sir George Birdwood would remark as late as 1910 that the noble statue of Buddha was nothing better than "a boiled suet pudding." It was again

ASPECTS OF INDIAN STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

at the initiative of the Royal Asiatic Society that a Royal Commission known as the Reay Committee was set up in 1908 to consider the organization of oriental studies in London, which put on record that "many witnesses have stated that in their opinion the knowledge of Indian languages (and the knowledge of native thought which such knowledge implies) is less than it was twenty-five years ago and less than it ought to be." The recommendations of the committee, tempered by the realities of the first war, were made effective and the School of Oriental Studies was brought into existence, in 1916, under the directorship of Sir Denison Ross. A London institution established under the Royal Charter in 1807 "for the Advancement of Literature and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," but which has been described in some quarters as "a comfortable club," provided the School with a building, and the name of it continued as a part of the designation of the School until it was dropped in 1938, when the name of the School was changed into "The School of Oriental and African Studies." The interest which the British people took in the School during these years is reflected in a memorandum by the present Director, issued in 1943, where it is stated that "in the past twenty-two years (*i.e.*, almost from the inception of the School) only four British students have taken first or higher degrees in various Indian subjects." The Director deplores that "at no time, since the foundation of the School of Oriental Studies in the middle of the last war, have Indian studies in this country reached so low an ebb."

The drama that was being played so far in the field of Indian studies in this country now entered upon the stage of dénouement. Without moorings the School drifted helplessly, with frantic efforts for its survival. It was marooned at Cambridge when the Ministry of Information, which did not see any justification for the existence of such an institution in the present scientific age, occupied its buildings. Thank goodness, unforeseen realities of the second world war prompted the War Office to write to the

Board of Education on January 17, 1942: "The country will need all the linguists it can produce at least as much as it will need the scientists and radio-technicians." The School was called back to London, and it is a matter of great satisfaction that "more than 27,000 army officers and other ranks received some training in Indian languages." The Ministry of Information could still find no wisdom in having the School in its own premises, and the dispute was referred to a special tribunal which gave its award on February 4, 1943, allowing the School to continue to stay where it was. In the meantime, on September 14, 1942, the Association of the British Chambers of Commerce published a memorandum expressing their need for training in languages as a help to overseas trade after the war. It met with ready response of the School and the whole situation was discussed at the India-Burma Association, while in May, 1943, the School's proposal was accepted by the British Chambers of Commerce. Then came the epoch-making lecture of Lord Hailey, the then Chairman of the Governing Body of the School. On October 15, 1942, before an august gathering attended by such notabilities as the Right Hon. L. S. Amery and Lord Zetland, he pleaded at the East India Association the case for Indian studies in this country. Lord Hailey also referred to the memorandum of the British Chambers of Commerce. With a rare foresight of impending political change in the East he brought his most intimate knowledge of India to bear upon "the cultural relation with the Orient." "In a connection of this kind," he emphasized, "where racial ties and tradition which bind us to the existing dominions are wanting, the only dynamic link will be supplied by a mutual spirit of goodwill." Undoubtedly this momentous lecture served as the main plank on which the Scarbrough Commission Report has been designed and built up. Now the brilliant record of war services rendered by the School as a linguistic training centre in London, supported first by the recommendation of the War Ministry and then by the linguistic need of the British Chambers of Commerce,

ASPECTS OF INDIAN STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

kindled the gratitude of the Foreign Office when at the most opportune moment Lord Hailey, Sir Malcolm Robertson and Prof. Sir R. L. Turner made a second representation to the then foreign Minister, the Right Hon. Anthony Eden. The representation which Prof. Sir Ralph Turner and Sir Philip Hartog had made to the Foreign Office once before in 1942 had prepared the ground; and this time it resulted in the appointment of an Inter-departmental Commission on December 15, 1944, under the Chairmanship of the Earl of Scarbrough. Prof. Sir R. L. Turner addressed a letter dated September 19, 1945, to the Commission and also issued several memoranda, of which "The Case for Increased Financial Assistance," "Post-war Problems and Finance" and "The Present State of Indian Studies in Great Britain" are worth mentioning. In the meantime Labour came to power, but the Commission was asked to continue to make its recommendations available equally during peace and war. In April, 1947, the report of the Commission was published, and with promptitude the Government accepted the view of the Commission that "an academic tradition should be built up," and to the joy of all concerned "the Government were prepared to make financial grants to this end." From the time of the second world war down to the successful conclusion of the Commission three great luminaries shine out in their pristine glory in the otherwise discouraging atmosphere of Indian studies in Great Britain. They are, among others, Prof. Sir R. L. Turner, the present Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Lord Hailey, the then Chairman of the Governing Body of the School; and the Earl of Scarbrough, the Chairman of the Commission. The Director brought the machinery into action, the Chairman galvanized it to endure vicissitudes, and the Chairman of the Commission piloted it to a grand noble end. All three, jointly and individually, have silently borne the whole brunt of one of the most difficult tasks, which has eventually introduced an altogether new

era in the sphere of Indian studies in this country.

The basic fact is that Indian studies have at last found recognition by all parties in the United Kingdom as an integral part of the British foreign policy. The Commission report solemnly observes that: "If we are to preserve close and intimate relations with the nations of Asia we must develop in our own country an interest in the cultures of the East of a quality which will command the respect of Eastern scholars and on a scale which will in time spread its influence among the general public of Great Britain." The Commission recognizes with singular foresight that "at no time in our history, however, have the British people been so alive to the importance of happenings abroad as they are today. . . . There exists, therefore, at the present time a rare opportunity to develop this growing interest and to weave it into the national outlook." Naturally, therefore, the Director was fully justified when he put it on the annual report, 1950, that "at the centre of the Commission's recommendations stood the foundation of an academic tradition and the building up of strong academic departments . . . in all fields, ancient as well as modern, in the University of London." Indeed, the academic tradition is intended by the Commission to be built up on the foundation of two types of balance—balance between languages and related subjects and balance between classical and modern languages. In other words, the Commission has laid emphasis equally on matter and form as historical phenomena. The Reay Committee of 1908 took no cognisance of classical studies, but thanks to the linguistic interest in Europe from early times Indian studies have been constantly sustained. Now that the linguistic approach has substantially contributed to the form, the time is ripe for exploring the glories of matter. Dr. Lewis stated at the Sir William Jones Bicentenary Conference in 1946 that Jones, who first instituted linguistic studies on a scientific basis, was of opinion that "language should not be the end in itself, but merely the

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instrument or rather the avenue of approach to the real purpose of oriental scholarship, which is the understanding and interpretation of oriental civilization as a contribution towards better relations between the different families of mankind." The view of the Commission on this point is reflected in a quotation, where a linguist was compared with "a man who is always taking his car to pieces, but never goes for a drive." All this recent criticism does not, in my opinion, disown the contribution of linguistic studies in this country, but only indicates the demand of cultural studies to be fostered side by side with linguistic approach. In fact, one is the indispensable counterpart of the other. The Director pointed out that in "the training in Indian languages . . . history, customs, religions and present-day conditions" would provide a background as the linguistic equipment would produce deeper insight into the culture of a nation.

Selfless efforts, imagination and well-designed administrative machinery are among the prerequisites to the gradual development of a tradition. The organization of the School of Oriental and African Studies has naturally taken a lead in this matter. At Cambridge "The Institute of Oriental Studies" was inaugurated in 1948 on the initiative of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Cambridge University. The Indian Institute at Oxford is said to be on the way to reorganization. To make the Indian studies sufficiently attractive for young people of this country 194 scholarships are recommended in the Commission Report, and the influx of fresh recruits to be eventually absorbed in academic departments is steady and up to the expectations. So, instead of being left to "chance scholars and linguists," Indian studies are now being given the status of a full-time profession comparable in quality to similar profession in the University College or the King's College at the London University. In the field of research facilities are on the increase. The library of the School is being reorganized and an Oriental Year Book for 1948 is in the process of publication. An Inter-University Publication Committee is set up in addition

to the Cambridge University Oriental Series and a series recently contemplated at the School and the School Bulletin. Co-operation in this sphere is being sought for from the Continent, the United States of America, and the UNESCO. Outside the University sphere periodicals like the *Eastern World*, *ART AND LETTERS*, *Eastern Review* and the *Aryan Path* are all doing their best to propagate Indian culture. Above all, the Committee recommended by the Scarbrough Commission to be set up under the auspices of the Royal Society and the British Association has now been able, under the Chairmanship of the Earl of Scarbrough, to take concrete steps towards the establishment of an Institution in India contemplated on the lines of the French Institute of Hanoi and the Netherlands Institute at Batavia, with a view to fostering closer cultural co-operation between India and Great Britain. Inside the United Kingdom the Association of British Orientalists was formed in 1946 "for the promotion of Oriental civilization both inside and outside the Universities."

Such speedy expansion of Indian studies should, however, be made with due caution and be quickly followed by integration in all spheres. Moreover, owing to the fact that a large amount of time and energy is being spent over the building of an academic tradition, the third objective of Oriental studies as laid down in the Report—viz., "the satisfaction and development of the growing interest in these regions among the general public"—still remains largely unrealized. So far this part of the job, in no way less important than the building up of academic tradition, is being performed mainly by the cultural societies. Life and scholarship are mutually complementary. The nineteenth-century naturalism and realism expressed in analysis and definition of the outside world are still holding the ground at the university level. I think it is right to say that "art is like food in that its proof is in the eating." I also think that the Royal India and Pakistan Society, among others, has undertaken the laudable task of stimulating and sustaining

ASPECTS OF INDIAN STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

the native interest of this country, by practical demonstration or otherwise, in the principal Indian arts—viz., painting, dancing, music, architecture and sculpture. By opening a Summer School, I further like to put it on record, the Society is perhaps unconsciously translating into action one of the recommendations of the Commission Report. In addition to these commendable activities the Society might also take into consideration the advice of the Right Hon. R. A. Butler, the present Chairman of the Society's Council, that "in fact, it may well be necessary to harness the tradition and philosophy of the East to teach us how to live in the rush of modern life in the West." For furthering these worthy ends Sir William Barton, Mr. Richter and Sir Frank Brown, who appear to me to have made these their life's mission, deserve congratulations and high praise. Nevertheless, to do these things on a much wider scale the time seems to be ripe when we should have an Oriental centre in London, as recommended in the Scarbrough Commission Report, where cultural activities so far partly discharged by the School and partly by the cultural organizations may be integrated more satisfactorily and designed in a more comprehensive way. Further, extra-mural and university extension lectures may be organized. The B.B.C. and L.C.C. and also the Home Ministry may contribute substantially in this project. Films representative of the high ideals and spirit of India, and not merely satisfying intellectual eccentricity directed towards throwing light upon the vagaries and obscurities of specific regions only geographically related to India, may do a lot of good in this respect. Perhaps India House might help to organize such a plan.

I must now conclude before your patience

gives way to boredom. The brief outline brings home the fact that in the process of fertilizing British culture with the innovation of Indian culture in the British way of life, invention of Indian culture was the first step. The vague curiosity of invention was consolidated by the untiring activities of geniuses like Jones, Wilkins and Colebrooke, resulting in limited recognition of Indian studies at some British universities and by some interested individuals. But its full-fledged welcome found expression in the Scarbrough Commission Report, and the Government effort is now being directed to weave Indian culture into the national fabric of this country. Indeed, this interfusion, or what the Commission calls "cross-fertilization," is imperative now more than ever "if we are to fortify our inner life with the dignity of a more perfect and universal experience," as Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has put it. Civilization is on trial, and I consider it to be an adequate defence that the culture of Great Britain was interfused with that of India as with others. Such interfusion would bring families of nations closer with all resources available for mutual benefit in every sphere of life. The British people have never lagged behind: they have always caught up to meet the demands of the situation. In the sphere of oriental studies love of Sir William Jones has now found embodiment in a national movement with the modest but dignified personality of Prof. Sir R. L. Turner as its centrifugal force. It is new up to us, the daughters and sons of Great Britain and India, to see that

We were nursed upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade and rill,
Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
Under the opening eyelids of the Morn
We drove afield.

Thank you all.



PADMAPANI (DHYANI BODHISATVA) SURROUNDED BY EIGHT SCENES OF THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA



BODDHISATVA, PART OF A LARGE HATO, COPPER GILT
From the Monastery of Pal-Kor Choide at Gyantse, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

Photo: Pembroke Galleries



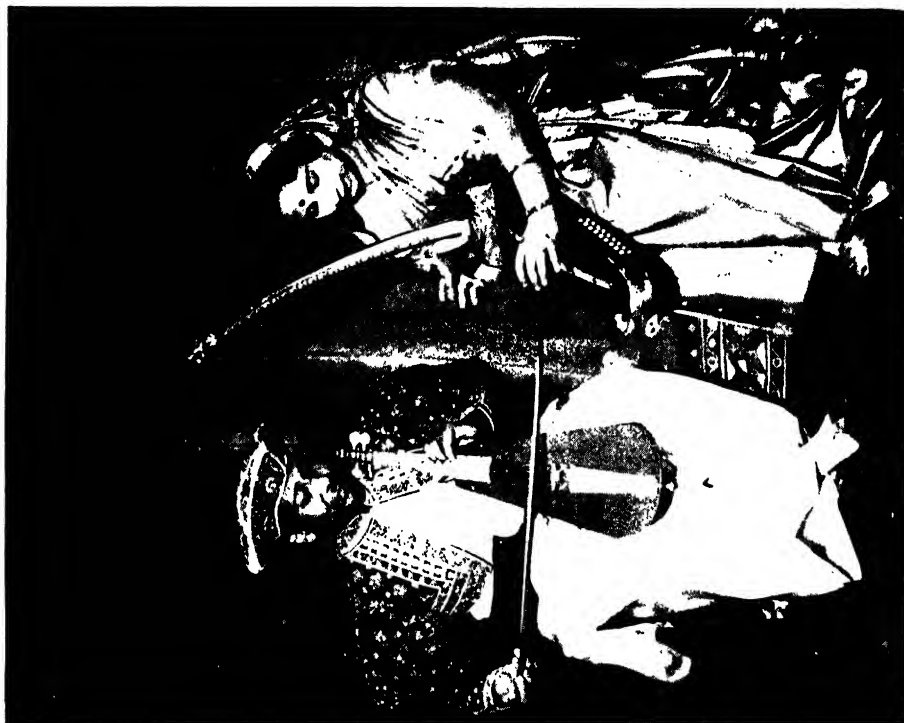
ANIMALS FROM SAME HALO

On the occasion of the Exhibition at the Berkeley Galleries of "The Mystic Art of Tibet," shown in connection with the Silver Jubilee of the Buddhist Society in London, the Members of the Society paid a visit to the Gallery.

Photo: Pembroke Galleries



MISS NOBLE PAULICKPULE AT HER RECENT RECITAL OF
CEYLONESE AND INDIAN DANCES IN LONDON



SURYA SENA ASSISTED BY NELUN DEVI, WHO PROVIDED THE
ACCOMPANIMENT AT THE RECITAL

Photos by Jones

ROYAL INDIA AND PAKISTAN SOCIETY FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT (1949)

DURING the year under review the Society has continued its activities in every sphere. In addition to the usual lectures, exhibitions, music and dance recitals, a Summer School has been held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by kind permission of Sir Richard Livingstone.

LECTURES

Tagore Lecture

Dr. Reginald le May delivered the Tagore Lecture at the Royal Society, with Baroness Ravensdale in the chair. The subject was "India's Contribution to the Culture and Arts of South-East Asia." This lecture, which created a great deal of interest, especially in India, has been reprinted in response to the demand from wide circles outside the membership of the Society.

Oriental Studies

Two lectures were delivered on the above subject, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, late Rector Magnificus of Leyden University, and a former member of the Archæological Survey of India, and the other by Professor M. B. Emeneau, the editor of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Dr. Vogel spoke on the "Contribution of the University of Leyden to Oriental Research," and Professor Emeneau on "The American Contribution to Indic Studies." Professor Sir Ralph Turner presided at both these lectures, which were held at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

His Excellency Mom Rajawong Seni Pramoj, former Siamese Premier and Education Minister, spoke on "Life in Siam Today." Sir Richard Winstedt presided, and the lecture was held jointly with the Royal Asiatic Society. Likewise under joint auspices, Professor C. R. Boxer lectured on "The Mandarin of Chinsurah, Isaac Titsingh in Bengal, 1748-82."

Archæology

Mr. T. N. Ramachandra, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, gave an illustrated lecture on "The Excavations at Nagarjunakonda, on the Banks of the River Krishna." Professor K. de B. Codrington presided, and the meeting was held at the Royal Society.

Islamic Studies

Professor Hamid Bilgrami spoke on "Iqbal," and Mr. Mas'ud Farzad on the "Divan of Hafiz," both with Professor Arberry in the chair. The Hon. Mrs Betjeman gave a lantern lecture on "Pre-Mughal Islamic Architecture in India," at which Mr. Salman Ahmed Ali presided. These three lectures were held at the Islamic Cultural Centre.

Literature

Mr. K. Nagarajan, the author of *Athawar House*, spoke on "The Development of the Indian Novel," at 25, Charles Street, with Mr. Clifford Bax in the chair.

GENERAL LECTURES

The Venerable Narada Mahathera, of the Vajirarama Temple in Ceylon, spoke on "The Life of an Ideal Bhikkhu and his Relation to the State," at 25, Charles Street.

Mrs. Meherangiz Munsiff gave a popular lecture entitled "A Pattern for the Future," at Friends' House.

Miss Mary C. Wheelwright spoke on an entirely new subject, "Navaho Sand Paintings and some Indian Parallels," at the Royal Society.

FILMS

There was a display of films illustrative of the dance and music of India, including Kathakali, Bharatanatya, Kathak and musical instruments, at the British Council Theatre.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIETY

EXHIBITIONS

Mr. Chintomoni Kar held an exhibition of his sculptures and paintings at his studio. The exhibition included work in plaster and terra-cotta, paintings in oil and water-colours. The Council desires to congratulate the artist on being awarded the Silver Medal and Diploma in Sport in Art in connection with the fourteenth Olympiad.

Bhabani Charan Gue arranged an exhibition of the work of his students at Mayo College, Ajmer, at 25, Charles Street. The exhibition was opened by Professor A. H. Gerrard of the Slade School of Fine Art.

Mr. C. R. Gerrard, late Principal of the Bombay School of Art, opened an exhibition of paintings by K. Krishna Hebbar at the Imperial Institute, which showed to advantage the versatility of the artist.

Dr. Arnold Baké opened an exhibition of "Four Centuries of Indian Fabrics," consisting of the Barua Collection. Mrs. Nilima Barua gave demonstrations of weaving, and the exhibition, which was held at the Imperial Institute, was very well attended.

Mention may also be made of the exhibition of Indian miniatures from the collection of his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, which forms the subject of a forthcoming book by Dr. H. Goetz, reference to which will be made later in the Report. This exhibition was held at the Arts Council, 4, St. James's Square, and was subsequently sent to the provinces.

By kind permission of Mr. William Ohly, there was a private view for members of his exhibition of the Mystic Art of Tibet at the Berkeley Galleries, including treasures from the ancient monastery of Pal-Kor Choide at Gyantse.

DANCE RECITALS

Six dance recitals were held in the year under review. Ram Gopal gave a private recital of Bharatanatya—the Sacred Temple Dance Drama of Tanjore—prefaced by explanations, accompanied by song and by traditional music on the veena and flute.

Mrinalini Sarabhai, while in London on

her European tour, gave a lecture on the Indian dance with demonstrations, accompanied by the veena and drum.

Rajeshwar gave a private recital of Bharatanatya, Kathakali, Kathak and Manipuri, with explanatory commentary by Pheroze Dadachanji.

Auzurie gave a demonstration of the seven types of dancing (embodied in three techniques, Kathak, Manipuri and Bharatanatya), assisted by Surya Kumar.

Mirabai gave a dance recital, mainly of Bharatanatya.

These five recitals were held at the Imperial Institute, and the Council desire to express to the Director their appreciation for placing the Film Theatre at the disposal of the Society.

In addition Xenia Zarina gave a demonstration of Siamese and Cambodian dances at the French Institute, to which members of the Society were invited.

PUBLICATIONS

Professor Mortimer Wheeler has written an outline of the archaeological history in Pakistan under the title "Five Thousand Years of Pakistan." The volume will be issued shortly by the Society, with a preface by the Hon. Fazlur Rahman, Minister of Commerce and Education in the Government of Pakistan.

The Art and Architecture of Bikaner, by Dr. H. Goetz, is also nearly ready.

Copies of these two books, which are admirably illustrated, will be issued to members on payment of ten shillings per copy in each case.

Two issues of the Society's journal ART AND LETTERS (India and Pakistan) were published during the year.

STUDY CIRCLE FOR ORIENTAL MUSIC

This Circle has grown from a small nucleus of enthusiastic music-lovers who used to gather, even during the war, to listen to records of Indian music, mostly at the hospitable home of Mrs. Allen. Colonel J. S. Yule and Mr. H. M. Allen were the moving spirits in this group.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIETY

By the beginning of this year it was decided to form the above-mentioned Study Circle, to which also non-members of the Royal India and Pakistan Society could belong on payment of a subscription of ten shillings. Dr. Arnold Baké was invited by Colonel Yule, the Chairman, to undertake the organization of the activities of the Circle.

It did not prove possible to carry out the full programme drawn up at the beginning of the season. There is much that has been left over for the coming year, including the music of Siam, Indonesia, Persia and Arabia.

The lectures given were:

(i) An Introduction by Dr. Baké, on the music of the Orient in its different aspects—illustrated by Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Indian gramophone records.

(ii) Mr. John Marr on the South Indian raga system, with vocal illustrations.

(iii) Devar Surya Sena on Sinhalese music and its history, with demonstrations of the rabana (drum), vocal illustrations and records.

(iv) Dr. Baké on Indian talas when Mr. Lakhya assisted with delightful tala playing.

(v) Professor Louis P. Chen, on the Chinese tonal system, illustrated by ancient Chinese melodies played on the lute, and with demonstrations of the tuning of the very ancient reed-pipes.

In addition to the members of the Circle, the audience included a number of overseas students and other visitors.

Warm thanks are due to the Director of the Egyptian Institute for permission to use their hall.

SIR EUGEN MILLINGTON-DRAKE

Sir Eugen Millington-Drake undertook a cultural mission on behalf of the Society, and left this country in the late autumn. He visited India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma,

Siam, Malaya and Indo-China. The Council wishes to express to him their sincere thanks for undertaking the tour, which he did entirely at his own expense. The Council is pleased to note that he was received throughout with the greatest cordiality.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

The Council has great pleasure in announcing that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has agreed to become an Honorary Vice-President of the Society.

During the year The Right Hon. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, The Right Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, Professor Mortimer Wheeler and Mr. N. P. Chakravarti were elected Vice-Presidents.

COUNCIL

Mr. William Archer, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake and Mr. J. C. Powell-Price were elected to the Council.

SUMMER SCHOOL

Following upon the success of the Summer School at Oxford, a full account of which has been published in the journal, arrangements are being made to hold another Summer School at Cambridge in July, 1950.

DONATIONS

A donation of £250 has again been received from the Government in Hyderabad, and a letter was received from General Chaudhuri expressing appreciation of the work of the Society.

A donation of £100 was received from the Government of Baroda.

A grant of £250 was made by His Majesty's Government to help in popularizing and expanding the Society's general activities.

R. A. BUTLER, M.P.

July 25, 1950.

Chairman.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1949.

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BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1949.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Accumulated Fund:</i>										
<i>Balance as at January 1, 1949</i>	948	6	7				448	0	0
<i>Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year ..</i>	69	13	2						
		1,017	19	9						
		1,216	9	3				378	11	0
<i>Add Life Subscriptions ..</i>				2,234	9	0	1,222	4	7
										1,600 15 7
<i>Current Liabilities and Reserves:</i>										21 12 3
<i>Sundry Creditors ..</i>	84	12	2						
<i>Subscriptions paid in Advance ..</i>	45	16	0				237	9	11
<i>Reserve for cost of printing book on Archaeology in Mysore ..</i>	100	0	0				11	8	3
<i>Reserve for cost of printing book on Archaeology of Bikaner ..</i>	£ s. d.							14	5	0
<i>Less Amount advanced for Blocks ..</i>	720 0 0							100	0	0
		1,555	0	0				1,555	0	0
<i>Amount due to the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in respect of sales of the Red Toriase ..</i>		44	19	4				70	5	6
					1,830	7	6			1,994 8 8
					£4,064	16	6			
								£4,064	16	6

Chairman, R. A. BUTLER, M.P. } Members of
Hon. Treasurer, FRANK H. BROWN. } the Council.

AUDITORS' REPORT TO MEMBERS

We report that we have examined the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account, with the books of the Society and vouchers relating thereto, and have verified the Cash Balances. We are of opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society according to the best of our information, and explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

RUSHTON, OSBORNE AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, July 25, 1950, at the Royal Society of Arts, 6, John Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.2, with the Right Hon. R. A. BUTLER, M.P., in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. F. RICHTER) read the notice convening the meeting.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is customary for the Chairman to open the annual meeting by making a few observations, and I hope you will bear with me for a short period while I do so. We have not only had a very successful year, but this is our fortieth birthday. The Society was founded in 1910, and the modest collation we have just enjoyed must be regarded as our birthday party. You may remember that there is a quotation in the original memorandum which reminds us how the Society was founded. This little extract is sufficiently entertaining to read to you:

"Havell, Coomaraswamy and I (in 1910) went to hear a lecture by Sir George Birdwood, who, while praising her crafts, denied fine art to India; the noble figure of the Buddha he likened to a boiled suet pudding! This so disgusted me that, there and then, I proposed we should found an India Society. A meeting was held at Havell's house, and with the support of Dr. and Mrs. Herringham, Thomas Arnold, W. R. Lethaby, Roger Fry, Dr. Thomas, T. W. Rolleston and others, the new society was formed."

A meeting was held and the new Society was formed. We have one of the founders with us on the platform today (Dr. F. W. Thomas).

I will remind you that one of the first works which the Society issued was *Gitanjali*, by Tagore, which introduced him to the West. Since then we have tried to extend similar services to the culture of India, of Pakistan, and now of Ceylon also.

Before I indulge in certain references to

detail I would like to say what a pleasure it has been to me during the past year to meet the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and only a week ago the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the second time this year, and to discuss with them the work of our Society. I am able to tell you that both these Prime Ministers and, I am sure, the Prime Minister of Ceylon also, will take a close personal interest in our activities. I certainly acted as an advertising and publicity officer for the Society when I saw the Prime Ministers, and I think I can honestly say that they are better informed now. I have since had letters from them saying how interested they are in our work. It was a special pleasure to be able to talk to a Prime Minister and not mention politics. That is one of the cardinal features of our Society. We have a unique opportunity in this period so soon after India, Pakistan and Ceylon have assumed their full nationhood and independence to proceed along the paths of culture and to carry with us all valuable opinion in these countries.

It is, fortunately, not very difficult for us to look into the past and discover in the past history of these great countries the material we need; it is even easier than if we were discussing our own past. There is a great depth and wealth of material which can be explored. In this connection I will remind you of the very remarkable Tagore Lecture given by Dr. le May, which has been so well received in India. The Government of India have shown an exceptionally practical interest in ordering a large number of copies. That lecture in itself was a justification for our activities during the last year. It was one of the most scholarly contributions on the history of the Indian continent in our time. I hope these few words of praise will not stop Dr. le May from further research, but will push him deeper and farther into such work.

There are various other small points I want to raise. The innovation of summer schools has been extremely successful; there is no reference in this year's report to the

recent summer school at Pembroke College, Cambridge; this will be made next year. It is a great satisfaction to me and to my father that the summer school has been held at Pembroke, although there are other colleges which, no doubt, will wish to put forward their precincts as possible venues.

We have had a wide and successful range of lectures. I will pay a tribute to the Government of India for their work in preparing documentary films and hope that more will become available. The film is a very important medium in our work in modern times, but we must not rest on our laurels. We are fortunate to have with us so many distinguished persons who have served the cause of culture in India for so long.

I should like to feel that we were branching out into the younger generation, and also into circles which are less connected with the older generation and less respectable than this gathering is today. The great problem of a cultural society is that it confines itself very much to a small circle, whereas I am quite certain when I tell you about the dance recitals which we have had by Ram Gopal that you will see how we can make a wide approach. When I say also that he is establishing a dance academy in London so that the art of the Indian dance may be studied here, and when I pay a tribute to Mrs. Sarabhai for her enterprise for bringing a complete company last year at her own expense, you will see that our activities are popular and can be made more popular than they have been made hitherto. While this is one of the most successful annual meetings that we have had for some time, I hope we shall not neglect the task of putting our wares before the public. It is perhaps in the cultural sphere that the closest friendship can be forged between India, Pakistan, Ceylon and this country, and if we can offer such popular wares I am sure we shall get a wider popular support than before.

I must also mention our Exhibitions for Indian artists, and that one of them, Mr. Kar, has been accepted in this year's Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. I would also like, having paid a tribute of thanks to the

Governments of India, to thank the Government of Pakistan for their financial aid in bringing out Dr. Mortimer Wheeler's book on the archæology of Pakistan. I also thank the Maharaja of Bikanir for his financial assistance in bringing out *Archæology of Bikanir*.

Let us also pay a small tribute to our own friends and refer to the new cover design of Art and Letters and its new layout; we have every reason to be proud of it.

In making a reference to the Music Circle, may I give your thanks to Dr. Baké and Colonel Yule for their constant help. There has been an increased attendance of music lovers who have not been specially interested in Oriental music and who are beginning to learn something from it. In all these ways we can heighten our activities and broaden our ranks.

We have also had a diplomatic mission this year, which was undertaken by Sir Eugen Millington-Drake on behalf of the Society. One result of that mission has been, and will be confirmed, I hope, at this meeting, the addition of Ceylon to the Society's title. Sir Eugen has had a distinguished diplomatic career. At one time I was Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office and actually read his despatches, now I am able to continue that contact with his mind by reading the despatches from his self-appointment. I hope we may continue to keep his interest with us and not let him stray off to South America or any other part of the world.

I have to thank the Governments of Hyderabad and Baroda for donations which I hope will be continued. Lord Pethick-Lawrence has helped us with His Majesty's Government and they have given us a grant for two years, so I trust our relations with foreign affairs will continue to be friendly.

There are several other matters which should be raised in the course of the agenda and I will not detain you further; but despite the fact that we have to consider next year's officers and the names of these gentlemen may be mentioned again, it would be impossible for me to come to the end of my remarks without paying a tribute to our

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Honorary Secretary, Mr. Richter, and our Honorary Treasurer, Sir Frank Brown. Mr. Richter leads a most useful and devoted life. Many public bodies owe their continued progress to his self-sacrificing efforts. Sir Frank Brown is one of the oldest friends of myself and of my family before me. It is always a pleasure to meet him and to feel that in our organization the accounts are in good hands.

Our Vice-Chairman, Sir William Barton, who has been taking charge of the meetings of Council when I am occupied, is a tower of strength. To a person like myself engaged in public affairs it would be impossible to continue in this post if it were not for his help and the work he does throughout the year. You have already shown how much you appreciate his constant attendance.

I should like to send a message from this meeting to Lady Ravensdale, who cannot be present today. She has throughout the years been very helpful to us and has carried forward the tradition and taste of her illustrious father into the subjects in which we are engaged.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

The CHAIRMAN: I will now refer to the retirement of the Marquess of Zetland and the election of a new President. We owe a very great deal to the Marquess of Zetland. For several years I had the honour of serving with him at the India Office. I remember once going to see him and asking him what book he would advise me to read on the historical background and the cultural development of India. He gazed at me in some amazement and said, "Well, I think if you want to have a successful talk with me you had better read my three books and then come back." That was good advice. We had in our Honorary President one who was unrivalled in his application of mind and in his personal sympathy with the country in which he served the greater part of his life. It is with great regret that we realize that his increasing age makes it undesirable for him to continue as our President. I hope I may send him a message thanking him on your

behalf for his very great services over these many years.

I shall have the duty now, on behalf of the Council, of proposing the Earl of Inchcape as our President. His is another name closely associated with India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Lord Inchcape has expressed to me his great interest in the objectives and objects of our Society and I think we have been very fortunate in securing his acceptance. Unfortunately he has to be in Scotland today, otherwise he would have been present. I think you will agree with this nomination, which I will ask Sir Frederick James to second.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES: I have great pleasure in seconding the nomination. I will only add to the words which the Chairman has used about Lord Inchcape that he does belong to the younger generation, and we are therefore in the Chairman's own words branching out quite definitely in that direction in voting him into office as our President.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION OF ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Annual Report, which had been circulated.

Mr. D. N. BARBOUR, in seconding, said: The Chairman has covered the year's activities very fully and I am sure nobody will wish me to cover the same ground again. There are, however, three points which I would like to mention very briefly. As one who has attended quite a number of the activities of the Society during the year I have been impressed by the diversity of our work and the considerable ground which has been covered both in the field of lectures and in the type of subject we have covered—religion and archæology, pictorial art and dancing, films and music. In addition to that we have had most useful co-operation with other societies such as the Royal Asiatic Society, and with institutions like the School of Oriental and African Studies; and then we have had the summer schools—in short, a very varied and very full programme.

The second point I wanted to make was that, as one who is privileged to be a member of a number of societies such as this, engaged in promoting cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, I know of no other which succeeds in carrying the educational and instructive aspects of its work in such an agreeable manner. I cannot, for example, imagine any more delightful way of imbibing instruction than by attending the summer schools which our Society has held at Oxford and Cambridge.

The third point I raise as a member of the Overseas Services of the B.B.C. Those who attended the summer school at Oxford last year may remember that several members at the opening discussion raised the point of the various means by which the three countries, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and their social and political life, could be brought more frequently and fully to the notice of the British public. Amongst the various possibilities discussed was the possibility of getting more facilities for visitors from these countries, when in England, for speaking in the domestic services of the B.B.C. That initiative of the Society was a stimulus and encouragement to people like myself who, while we are primarily concerned with broadcasting to those countries and making the British point of view known to them, yet have at the same time some responsibility for bringing forward the interests of India, Pakistan and Ceylon in the B.B.C. in general. Since that time a good many such facilities have been afforded to citizens of the various South Asian states. For instance, many of you will no doubt have heard the broadcast by the Prime Minister of Pakistan a few days ago which was given after the nine o'clock news. The Society can, I think, congratulate itself that developments have taken a course in accordance with the initiative taken by it last year.

There were no questions and the report was adopted.

Sir FRANK BROWN: The accounts are of such a favourable nature that I hope and believe that the quiet temper of our meeting to which the Chairman has referred will be

maintained during the few moments that I speak upon them. On this occasion we have a surplus on the year's working. You will see the amount received from subscriptions is about the same as last year. This in a measure is satisfactory, but as custodian of the funds of the Society I could wish that we elected year by year a larger number of members. I hope that the development of our activities to which reference has been made will be reflected in a larger amount of subscriptions in the current year.

The expenses for the year have been about as usual. The cost of lectures, exhibitions and other fixtures has remained constant, although their number has expanded. The administrative expenses also remain about the same as last year. It is satisfactory that we have continued to receive certain grants from the Indian sub-continent, but we cannot rely on a continuance of them. It is most satisfactory that the value of our work has been recognized by H.M. Government through the good offices of Lord Pethick-Lawrence. The grant made will be repeated during the present year.

At the last meeting I had to adopt the language of Mr. Micawber when he told of the misery arising from an income of £1 and an expenditure of £1 os. 6d. We then had a deficit, but this year we have a fair amount of excess of income over expenditure, and it is in these happy circumstances that I present these accounts. I would conclude by thanking the Chairman for his kind reference to myself and to my long and close connection with his distinguished father, Sir Montague Butler, and his uncle, Sir Harcourt.

Asked for an explanation of the amount of corporation duty which had to be paid, Sir FRANK BROWN said that this was in lieu of income tax. It had to be paid because the Society did some trading by selling the books which were assets of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Accounts.

Mrs. WINIFRED HOLMES, in seconding, said that as one who had to study film accounts it was a pleasure to see accounts

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which showed an excess of income over expenditure. She hoped it would be possible to see more Indian films in the future. The Information Film Unit which was set up in India during the war had been revived by the Dominion Government under the title Indian Documentary Film, and a number of excellent documentary films were being made which were coming to this country gradually and were available at India House through the courtesy of the High Commissioner. It had been suggested that there should be a study circle for films, but she had always opposed this because films had no long and classical history of tradition behind them and could not yet be called an art. She felt, however, that the advantage should be taken of seeing films from India, Pakistan and Ceylon whenever possible when they had a cultural interest.

The accounts were adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The CHAIRMAN proposed that the name of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Ceylon High Commissioner in London, be added to the list of Vice-Presidents, and that General Shanker Bahadur Rana, Nepalese Ambassador, and the Earl of Scarbrough be likewise elected Vice-Presidents. The motion was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then moved that Sir Frank Brown be re-elected as Honorary Treasurer and Mr. P. Richter as Hon. Secretary.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON seconded. He said: We are all extremely grateful to Mr. Butler for coming to preside this afternoon; we know that there is a very important debate in the House of Commons and Mr. Butler, as a front-rank statesman, would be taking a prominent part had he not very kindly come here to help us. I should also like on my own behalf and on behalf of the Council to pay a tribute to Lord Zetland. He is deeply versed in the lore and culture of the East; a master of English prose, an eloquent speaker gifted with great personal charm, his inspiration has been of the greatest value to the Society. One hopes that that inspiration will continue

and help us to carry on what we are trying to do.

We are very grateful that Lord Inchcape has accepted the invitation to be President. His family has had an interest in India and Ceylon for many years, and Lord Inchcape himself has a close knowledge of India and experience of Indian life.

I should like to take the opportunity of thanking the Council for their co-operation. The meetings have always been well attended, the agenda has been fully discussed, and I think I can say that the decisions arrived at have always been of value to the Society. We are glad to have the Nepalese Ambassador, Lord Scarbrough and H.E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, High Commissioner for Ceylon, as our Vice-Presidents.

I would like to say a word about Sir Frank Brown and Mr. Richter. Sir Frank as always has been of great assistance to us and we are glad to know that he will continue to act as Honorary Treasurer. I do not know how the Society would go on without Mr. Richter; how he gets to know who is here from the East no one knows, but he always seems to be able to get hold of the right people and to fix the right sort of thing to put before the Society. As you know, he does all this practically on an honorary basis.

The record of the year is worthy of the Society. At the same time I thoroughly agree with what Mr. Butler has said about the necessity of bringing more youth into our ranks and I hope we shall be able to do something about that later on. We want to bring young Indians, young Pakistanis, young Ceylonese more into contact and so help to sweep away some of the differences which divide them. It was a great pleasure to us all to have Indian, Pakistani and Ceylonese guests at the summer school. Our relations were most cordial. Mr. Butler has told you of the Government grant, and I think it would be the wish of the Government that we should spend it in fostering cultural relations between the three countries in the manner referred to.

The resolution was carried.

RE-ELECTION OF COUNCIL

The CHAIRMAN proposed the re-election of the following members of Council who retired this year by rotation:

Sir Norman Edgley, Mr. J. C. French, Mrs. Winifred Holmes, Colonel J. S. Yule, Mrs. Peter Latham, Dr. le May, Mr. Tunnard Moore;

and the election of a new member:

Mr. John Irwin (of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum).

Mr. SALMAN ALI seconded the proposal. He said that the Council members had been associated with the Society for a long time and had given a considerable part of their time in organizing the various functions of the Society.

The resolution was carried.

TITLE OF THE SOCIETY

The CHAIRMAN said that the following resolution was being moved, but permission had to be obtained from the Home Office before it could be put into effect, because the Society was a Royal Society.

Sir EUGEN MILLINGTON-DRAKE moved:

"That the title of the Society henceforth be 'The Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society.'"

He said: I am very glad, as a result of my rapid tour of the East, of my overwhelming impression that Ceylon should be added to the title of the Society, to move this resolution. First may I take the ground of *convenience*. Culturally, broadly speaking, Ceylon does make a group with the Indian peninsula; and geographically all three are in one group, and the traveller or envoy or visitor can visit these three countries in a reasonably short time. A distinguished member of the Society has suggested that its purview should include most of the other countries beyond, to the east and south-east, because Indian culture has had such influence on their culture. Of course, in my mind there is no objection whatsoever to articles in this sense in our magazine. But what I mean is that, from the

point of view of practical contacts and exchange of visitors, lecturers and the like, we should limit ourselves to this happy and compact trio. Next, and even more important, I would suggest the gratitude we should all feel towards Ceylon, whether as a country or society. There is no country in the Far East which deserves better of us than Ceylon, and its friendliness towards Britain during the developments of the last few years has been notable. Then, as a Society, I would like to emphasize that nowhere more than in Ceylon was I, as your envoy, received with such interest and kindness. I feel that these are things which we should take into account, and not leave out Ceylon as in some sense the Cinderella of our Society. Last, but not least, the Prime Minister of Ceylon has been good enough to express his agreement with the suggestion that the title of the Society should be changed to include Ceylon and, indeed, has expressed his gratification at the prospect. For all these reasons, I urge that "Ceylon" should be added to the title of this Society.

Sir L. WILFRED A. DE SOYSA seconded. He said: I was one of the original members of the Society; unfortunately during this visit to England I have not been able to attend a single meeting owing to ill-health, but I am happy to be present to see my country included and brought into prominence by the members of the Society by adding Ceylon to the name of the Society. Those who visit Ceylon will agree with me that there is a great deal of work yet to be done to bring its culture into the knowledge of the people of Britain, besides dealing with the religion, the great works of the ancient kings and the literary works of the great scholars and poets of the ancient Sinhalese era. A great deal of literature originated in Ceylon. If members of the Society were to deal with the religion in one book, with the ruins in another and with the ancient agriculture and the great tanks in the North-Central and Central Provinces in another book the people of Britain would begin to take a greater interest in my country. With these few words and with every good wish that the Society will go on

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prospering I have very much pleasure in seconding.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RE-ELECTION OF THE AUDITORS

The CHAIRMAN moved that the auditors, Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co., chartered accountants, be re-elected. This was seconded by Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE and carried.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIRMAN

Dr. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. He said that Mr. Butler belonged to a family which had a long and distinguished connection with the countries which it was the object of the Society to study. He would invite attention not only to Mr. Butler's kindness in being present when he had many other engagements, but to the extreme efficiency with

which he had conducted the meeting. If only other societies would take a lesson from the wisdom of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society and ask Mr. Butler to conduct their annual meetings these functions would be far less dreary and transacted with greater speed.

Mr. E. M. MUNSIFF, in seconding, said that he was happy to hear the Chairman emphasize youth. Probably culture was more usually associated with age and perhaps should have age attached to it, but that was an old-fashioned idea. The new President was quite young, and he was confident that in the new year which was setting in the emphasis on youth was one which would influence the activities of the Society.

The vote of thanks was carried with applause and the Chairman made a brief response.

The proceedings then terminated.

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